THE BLACK PANTHER

INTERCOMMUNAL NEWS SERVICE

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1969 Memo Revealed At Fred Hampton Murder Trial

HOOVER ORDERED F.B.I. TO SABOTAGE FREE BREAKFAST PROGRAM



The rationale of the FBI in 1969 for its attempts to destroy the BPP's Free Breakfast Program (above) was that the program "represents the best and most influential activity" of the Party.

(Chicago, Ill.) - A confidential three-page COINTELPRO document read to the six-member civil jury at the Fred Hampton murder trial here reveals that late FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover considered the Black Panther Party's Free Breakfast Program for Schoolchildren a "threat" and ordered covert counterintelligence operations against this Survival Program and its supporters.

According to a May, 1969, memo sent by Hoover to more than two dozen FBI offices, the BPP Free Breakfast Program *"represents the best and most influential activity going for the BPP and as such is potentially the greatest threat to efforts by authorities to neutralize the BPP and destroy what it stands for."*

The reading of this previously undisclosed memo into the court record, plus the following developments, have highlighted the trial in recent weeks:

•Orders by trial judge Joseph Sam Perry that the FBI turn over even more illegally withheld COINTELPRO documents;

•Disclosures that Chicago FBI agents lied to their Washington, D.C., superiors concerning un-Constitutional wiretaps on phone conversations between Fred Hampton and his attorneys; and

•The removal, by U.S. Attorney Sam Skinner of his top aide from a probe of government agents on his staff who withheld important COINTELPRO evidence from plaintiffs in the $47.7 million case.

On trial before the middle-aged jury of five

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EDITORIAL

FREE PUERTO RICO

There was a particularly obnoxious advertisement in *The New York Times* recently which explains the avid denunciations of the "Compact of Permanent Union Between Puerto Rico and U.S." — to maintain the small Caribbean island as a colony of the United States. (See page 5.)

Headlined, "Here are the facts you should know about Puerto Rico's higher productivity, lower wages and tax-free profits," the half-page ad goes on to literally glorify the superexploitation of the Puerto Rican people. It advocates American business investments on the island on the sickening grounds that:

"Puerto Rico is the only location under the U.S. flag where corporate profits are completely free of U.S. federal income taxes," adding that American plants in Puerto Rico are 100 per cent exempt from corporate income taxes, real or personal property taxes and municipal license fees; comments that "a worker in Puerto Rico returns an average $4.03 in value for every dollar of wages earned. . . .well above the U.S. average of $3.36"; and states that, "With a plant on the U.S. mainland, you have to contend with an average hourly wage of $5.02; in Puerto Rico, the average is $2.69."

The ad also comments that "with unemployment in Puerto Rico now exceeding 20 per cent" — it is actually in excess of 40 per cent — the fight for jobs results in "higher manufacturing output and increased profit."

Here are some additional figures: U.S. business interests control some 85 per cent of the Puerto Rican economy; in 1974, U.S. interests invested over $12.3 billion in Puerto Rico, with close to $2 billion in profits; Puerto Rico, with its tiny population of just over 2.5 million, is the fifth largest market for U.S. goods in the entire world and accounts for a full 10 per cent of all U.S. profits gleaned from outside its borders.

Is it any wonder then why the U.S. government so desperately wants to keep Puerto Rico as its colony, to maintain even closer ties in a "permanent union"? Is it any surprise that Ms. Margarita Mergal would comment at last week's press conference that, "Repression is brutal in my homeland"?

Indeed, is it any wonder then why the Puerto Rican independence movement is growing daily by leaps and bounds?□



Cartoon depicts U.S. Secretary of State Henry Kissinger (right) who recently traveled to Africa where he called for Black majority rule in countries presently ruled by White minority regimes.

Letters to the Editor

INVESTIGATE MARYLAND PENITENTIARY DEATH

Dear Friends:

Recently, the Maryland Penitentiary Intercommunal Survival Collective sent out an article entitled "Maryland Penitentiary Doctors Kill Another Prisoner." At the end of the article calling for an independent investigation, people were directed to Joy McLauphlin of Friends and Families of Prisoners (FPP). Unfortunately, she is not prepared to deal with this situation since FPP has been nipped in the bud due to its liberal and agent-infested composition.

Notwithstanding, we still call for the investigation. Anybody interested in coordinating such a dire necessity please write to Marshal Conway, Maryland Penitentiary, 954 Forrest Street, Baltimore, Maryland 21202.

All Power To The People!

In struggle,
Maryland Pen.
Intercommunal Survival Collective (MPISC)

PANTHER NEWS OUTSTANDING

Dear Sir,

I consider the April 17 issue of the Panther news the best of many outstanding issues that I have ever seen, both in news reporting and literary content. And so, in order to get this letter written without laying a whole heavy volume on you, I'll comment on only two of its articles.

1. George Jackson — It is plain to me, as it should be to all people — Whites included — that George Jackson was murdered (by what details it doesn't matter; he was murdered) because of certain sharp bits of truth on which he wrote, continued to write, and could not be stopped from writing so long as he remained alive.

On second thought, it may matter a lot more how he was murdered than my first statement indicated — as a warning to us who are also determined to speak the truth who wish to live, and who should know whom and what we are dealing with. But above all — we most all speak the truth and be willing to stick by that truth — regardless of consequences — which will bring victory to all the People, regardless of what it may get us as individuals.

George Jackson most certainly did that!

2. Zimbabwe (also called Rhodesia) — the spectacle of six million Blacks and some 250,000 Whites on one hand — and 80,000 White voters against only 10,000 Black voters would be comical if this matter were not so serious.

I, myself, was brought up as a handicapped member of a White family who, because I fought against a birth injury — (and later against the Japanese Fascists and got more disabilities) — whoses rights to equality were strongly upheld by my father so long as he lived — and denied by everyone else.

So, to me, as it should be to other Whites — it is completely intolerable that you of the Black race should be denied equality anywhere because of your race. When one has known inequality himself for one reason or another, it is impossible to tolerate the same thing for others.

I read the interview with Mr. Samora Machel, the leader in Mozambique, and I consider his stand on Zimbabwe to be completely just and reasonable.

Also, I spit on our State Department's "tar baby memo" and demand that our interest in Africa be focused on the repudiation by all fair minded nations of both the racist Ian Smith regime in Zimbabwe and the regime in South Africa. At the moment I've forgotten the Black name for South Africa but I'll certainly acknowledge it, the moment my middle aged mind can recall it.

Anyway, apartheid must go — everywhere!

Sincerely,
Paul Dubnar

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COMMENT

"The New Minimalism"

By Vernon Jordan

Decrying a growing doctrine he calls "The New Minimalism" as a thinly veiled attack upon the hard-won social gains — indeed, upon the very survival — of Black and poor people, Vernon Jordan, executive director of the National Urban League, goes on to suggest the creation of a new Marshall plan for the '70s — one which will build upon the razed and impoverished inner cities of America in order to establish a decent quality life, for those entrapped by poverty in the world's most affluent society.

Since our nation has much to be ashamed of in its treatment of Black people and other minorities, the federal government's affirmative action programs have been a necessary step toward redressing past and present wrongs. Yet the continued opposition to affirmative action and the persistent willful distortion of the issues are indicative of the flagging of support for civil rights.

In a few brief years our nation has moved from "We Shall Overcome" to "We Don't Care." That is the real meaning of the anti-Washington rhetoric we've been hearing in this Presidential campaign. Cutting across the ideological spectrum and afflicting liberals and conservatives alike, it preaches a doctrine I call "The New Minimalism" — meaning less government, less spending, less federal manpower and less government regulation.

Somehow, in their calculations, the New Minimalists don't include fat Pentagon budgets or tax expenditures that benefit the well-off. They ignore the fact that less government means less protection for the people without resources; that less spending means fewer desperately needed social programs and stark hunger for those in poverty; that fewer government employees means fewer public services; that less government regulation means an end to civil-rights enforcement.

Beneath the facade of the New Minimalism one can detect an

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APPLICATION TO MAIL AT SECOND-CLASS POSTAGE RATE PENDING IN OAKLAND, CALIFORNIA.



BPINS photo

WILLIE TATE

S.Q.6 TRIAL

Willie Tate Expresses "Fear For My Safety" During George Jackson Set-up

(San Rafael, Calif.) - San Quentin 6 defendant Willie Tate — the only member of the Six free on bail — took the witness stand last week, concretely affirming his innocence in any wrongdoing in the events that occurred in San Quentin Prison's Adjustment Center on August 21, 1971 — which led to the assassination of Black Panther Party Field Marshal George Jackson.

Under examination by his attorney, John Hill, the soft-spoken Tate poignantly described his activities on August 21:

"I was in a situation which I didn't have any control of. I didn't know what the consequences would be of people being out of their cells. I was hoping that I and other people would be OK."

Incarcerated in the Adjustment Center from the summer of 1970 until his release from San Quentin on December 18, 1974, Tate was housed in 1-AC-65 when his cell door was initially opened on August 21, the last inmate released on the southside of the tier. Tate testified that once there, he squatted on the floor near cell 61 of the AC with fellow Black inmates Felton Cooper, Charles "Little John" Gordon and others "whose faces I can't remember."

While in this squatting position, Willie said that he saw San Quentin guard Urban Rubiaco pass in front of him and that he remembered seeing "someone with his hand on Rubiaco's

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SAN ANTONIO STRUGGLE ESCALATES— BLACK WOMAN THREATENED WITH EVICTION

(Oakland, Calif.) - A resident of the San Antonio Housing Projects here is now faced with eviction because she spoke out against the harassment and brutality of the Oakland Police Department and the Oakland Housing Authority police.

Last week, the Oakland Housing Authority (OHA) issued an eviction notice to Mrs. Betty Lee because she criticized the manhandling of a Black youth by OHA police.

Randy King had gone to the home of his aunt, Mrs. Shirley Reed, where OHA police accused him of gambling. Eyewitnesses report, however, that there was no gambling going on.

Mrs. Lee observed what was happening and demanded that the police stop harassing Randy. Randy's uncle, Albert Reed, was also at the scene of the incident and when it seemed that the officers were literally going to throw his nephew down the stairs, Mr. Reed intervened by breaking the youth's fall.

For this, Reed was charged with assault. Randy was also charged with assault along with the charge of trespassing, although he was on his aunt's porch.

OHA police responsible for this incident were White officers, William Reynolds, Gerald Futz and Ray Smith. Eyewitnesses reported that the trio had become furious at Mrs. Lee and were overheard saying, "We got to





BPINS photos

Police harassment in West Oakland's San Antonio Projects is continuing and children are unable to play safely outside. ALBERT REED (inset) was a recent victim of this police abuse.

come up with something (against Mrs. Lee.)" Smith was heard saying, "We'll throw anything and everything against her."

Seven days later Mrs. Lee learned that she had a warrant out for her arrest, charging her with assault and battery, despite the fact that she had never left her house. Almost simultaneously, the OHA gave her a 30-day eviction notice for being a "nuisance" and other very arbitrary charges.

However, Mrs. Lee feels that because she has spoken out before against police brutality and was involved in an effort to organize tenants of the projects against constantly recurring police brutality (see THE BLACK PANTHER, May 8, 1976), she has been targeted for harassment by the OHA. The campaign against police brutality had reached some measure of success as the Oakland police have seemingly curtailed some of their more blatant acts of intimidation and harassment.

HARASSMENT

Residents feel that the police are still carrying out their harassment, only this time through their pawns, the OHA police. Reed commented, "The OHA has begun an harassment campaign, with the back-up of the Oakland police." Because Mrs. Lee and others sought out groups such as the Black Panther Party to support them against the Oakland police, Reed said, they have been made the targets of the campaign.

Mrs. Lee, Randy King and Albert Reed are all on trial now for assault. Mrs. Lee is preparing for an impartial hearing with the OHA to prevent her eviction. "I refuse to let any man, no matter who he is, walk over me," stated Reed as he voiced his plans to seek legal redress for the indignities he and his nephew suffered.□

"Wrongful Death" Suit Filed Against Oakland Police For Calhoun Murder

(Oakland, Calif.) - A "wrongful death" lawsuit has been filed here in Alameda County Superior Court by the parents of a 23-year-old East Oakland Black man murdered in cold blood by two White Oakland police officers last August.

Marshal Calhoun and his wife, Eddie Lee, of 1615 83rd Avenue, are suing Oakland police chief George T. Hart; city manager Cecil Riley; police officers Paul Musch and Terrance Teich, and police officers "Doe 1 through 20" — whose names are unknown to the plaintiffs — in connection with the shooting death on August 19, 1975, of their son, Floyd D. Calhoun, who was killed by Musch and Teich as he was running down the street in the 1700 block of 85th Avenue.

The lawsuit, filed on behalf of Mr. And Mrs. Calhoun by prominent Black Oakland attorney John George, charges that (1) Musch and Teich acted negligently in murdering Calhoun because he was not armed with any weapon at the time and was not threatening the some 20 police officers assembled to capture him or anyone else and that (2) Floyd died as the result of Oakland Police Department regulations governing the use of firearms, which, the suit charges, "encourage the use of excessive and unnecessary force against non-dangerous fleeing persons. . ."

At the time of his death, Floyd

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"IN MEMORY OF MALCOLM X": COMMUNITY SCHOOL YOUTH SHOW INSIGHT INTO BLACK STRUGGLE



BPINS photo

Children of Oakland Community School open their program, "In Memory of Malcolm X," with a song.

(Oakland, Calif.) - The students of the Oakland Community School (OCS) paid tribute to our "shining Black prince" with the presentation of their program, "In Memory of Malcolm X," last Sunday, May 23, at the Oakland Community Learning Center.

The program began with all of the students of OCS, Groups 1 through 8, singing their jazzy version of "To Be Young, Gifted and Black." This was followed by a poetry recital by students Lorene Banks and Alisha Keyes. The two young sisters read poems they had written to express their feelings about the meaning of "freedom."

The next two portions of the program were very light-hearted. Luanna Williams did a pantomime routine to the music of "The Multiplication Rock" and OCLC Teen Club member Darryl Jones led some OCS students through some of the latest dance steps. It was obvious that the children were enjoying themselves in the performances which they created.

Following this, the students sang their rendition of an old slave song, "Oh Freedom." *"Before I'll be a slave, I'll be buried in my grave,"* goes the song and it set the tone for the play which followed — an enactment of the life of the great Malcolm X.

The play, which was narrated by 11-year-old Barbara Baker from Group 8, began with Malcolm's childhood, pointing out the fact that Malcolm's father, Rev. Little, a proud Black man, was killed by KKK racists before Malcolm reached the age of ten.

Groups 4 through 8 acted out this and other periods of Malcolm's life, including his life as a street hustler in Boston and Harlem, and the time he spent in prison in Massachusetts. The final scene portrayed how Malcolm refused to let threats upon his life deter him in his organizing efforts and how he spoke up for justice until the time of his death at the Audubon Ballroom.

This part of the children's presentation not only showed that the students had studied Malcolm's life in depth but also understood the hard struggle he faced not only as a revolutionary but as a Black man. In every scene of the play they displayed their first-hand knowledge of life in the Black community and applied that in their portrayal of the life of Malcolm X.

Once again the "commercials" — short skits based on TV ads — that were created and acted out by the youth were some of the high points of the presentation.

One commercial showed the insanity of racism when two "White racists" use "Get The Black Out" spray to get rid of some "niggers." The spray not only kills the "niggers" but gets rid of the racists also.

In the other commercial, "The Price is Right," a "contestant" is infuriated when another "contestant" wins a trip to Paris while

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BPINS photos

Scene from the play on the life of Malcolm X (left) which was narrated by OCS student BARBARA BAKER (right).



Elaine Brown, Furaha Hiyati Honor Malcolm X At O.C.L.C.



(Oakland, Calif.) - Black Panther Party chairperson ELAINE BROWN (left) and KDIA radio commentator FURAHA HIYATI were the featured speakers at last Wednesday evening's Malcolm X Commemoration Program held at the Oakland Community Learning Center.

Sponsored by the Black Board of the University of California, Berkeley campus, the commemoration paid tribute to the many and varied contributions the late Malcolm X made to the Black liberation struggle in America. The event was held on Malcolm's birthday, May 19.

BPINS photos

THIS WEEK IN BLACK HISTORY

May 24, 1854

Anthony Brown, a famous fugitive slave, was arrested by the U.S. deputy marshal in Boston on May 24, 1854. It took some 2,000 U.S. troops to escort him through the streets of Boston when he was returned to his master.

May 25, 1878

On May 25, 1878, the great Bill "Bojangles" Robinson was born in Richmond, Virginia. Hailed as the "King of Tap Dancers," Robinson starred on Broadway and in 14 different movies.

May 24, 1879

On May 24, 1879, William Lloyd Garrison died in New York City. Garrison gained prominence as a brilliant young journalist who published the first issue of the famous *Liberator* newspaper. Although a White man, Garrison was one of the major figures of the abolitionist movement and helped found the American Anti-Slavery Society.

May 23, 1921

Shuffle Along, the first of a series of popular musicals featuring Black talent, opened at the 63rd Street Music Hall in New York City on May 23, 1921. This play was only one of many plays, books, music, etc. that resulted in a cultural explosion in Black America known as the Harlem Renaissance.

May 26, 1943

President Edwin Barclay of Liberia was the first president of a Black-ruled African country to pay an official visit to an American President. He arrived at the White House on May 26, 1943, to visit President Franklin Delano Roosevelt.

May 24, 1961

Twenty-seven "Freedom Riders" were arrested in Jackson, Mississippi, on May 24, 1961. The Hind's County Board of Supervisors announced the jail was overcrowded as more than 100 freedom riders had been arrested.

ELAINE BROWN EXPRESSES B.P.P. SUPPORT FOR PUERTO RICAN INDEPENDENCE MOVEMENT

ACTIVISTS DENOUNCE BILL TO KEEP PUERTO RICO A U.S. COLONY



Left to right, MICHAEL KENNEDY, BPP chairperson ELAINE BROWN, MARGARITA MERGAL and DAVID BLOCK.

(San Francisco, Calif.) - Black Panther Party chairperson Elaine Brown joined Puerto Rican independence leader Margarita Mergal, Puerto Rican Solidarity Committee (PRSC) representative David Block and attorney Michael Kennedy at a press conference here last Friday to denounce San Francisco Congressman Philip Burton's role in sponsoring legislation that would tighten U.S. colonial control over the island of Puerto Rico. Although he was unable to attend, a strongly worded statement from Congressman Ron Dellums was read to the assembled media.

At issue is Burton's proposed legislation, "The Compact of Permanent Union between Puerto Rico and the United States." This bill, presently being rushed through Congress in hopes that it will be approved before the summer recess, establishes the island of Puerto Rico as a "Free Associated State" — a phrase, opponents of the legislation charge, means nothing other than the perpetuation of Puerto Rico as a U.S. colony in violation of several United Nations' resolutions reaffirming the Puerto Rican people's human rights to self-determination and independence.

CONCISE STATEMENT

In her concise statement, Elaine Brown strongly presented the Black Panther Party's position condemning the proposed bill.

"Black America must recognize," Elaine said, "the direct relationship between our plight for total equality and justice and the plight of the people of Puerto Rico.

"If this government is successful in colonizing Puerto Rico under the false name of statehood, as it has attempted and did attempt in Angola and elsewhere, then our lives — Black people's lives in this country — are in greater jeopardy and we can be surely driven from our present state of poverty and unemployment to total slavery.

"The Black Panther Party joins thousands of other right and progressive thinking people in denouncing Congressman Philip Burton in his drive to keep the people of Puerto Rico shackled in a permanent state of colonialism. We urge the Black Congressional Caucus, as well as other members of Congress, to put down Burton's colonial bill and allow the Puerto Rican people to enjoy the same freedoms this country claims to celebrate this year — the right of a people to determine their own lives and their own country.

"The Black Panther Party wishes to note for the Black community of this area and this entire country that not only is this of direct interest to us politically and economically, but also we wish to note that one-half the population of Puerto Rico is Black. This has a direct feeling for us and it deserves the support of all Black and progressive thinking people in this country."

Prior to Elaine's reading of the Black Panther Party's position statement, PRSC representative David Block and Puerto Rican independence leader Margarita Mergal presented their comments to the press.

Leading off, Block's opening statement focused on Burton's proposed legislation, condemning Burton's "role in perpetuating the United States' colonial domination of Puerto Rico" while explaining the motivations and implications behind this move.

"This bill ostensibly, according to its sponsors, would 'modernize' the legal status of Puerto Rico in relation to the U.S.," Block said. "However, despite all the cosmetic language. . .the bill in effect would make Puerto Rico a permanent colony of the U.S."

Block explained that Burton's rush to have the bill passed by Congress "has to do with the

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Large Turnout For July 4th Coalition Benefit

(San Francisco, Calif.) - A large and enthusiastic crowd of over 250 turned out at the Neighborhood Arts Theater last Friday night for "A Boogie/Un Baile" benefit for the July 4th Coalition.

Dancing to the Latin rhythms of SALSA ALACRAN, the progressive audience listened to remarks on the Coalition's countrywide July 4 "March and Rally in Celebration of People's Unity in Struggle" by LAURA RODRIGUEZ (inset) and on the status of the independence struggle in Puerto Rico by Margarita Mergal, a leader in that country's women's movement. BPINS photos

Puerto Rican Women's Leader Discusses Sterilization Abuse

(San Francisco, Calif.) - U.S. policies of population control, here in America and in its colony of Puerto Rico, and the effects on the oppressed people of both countries was the subject of a lively panel discussion here last week, featuring Ms. Margarita Mergal, a leader of the Puerto Rican independence and women's movement.

Co-sponsored by the nationwide Committee to End Sterilization Abuse (CESA), the San Francisco-based Coalition Against Medical Abuse (CAMA) and the Puerto Rican Solidarity Committee, the highly educational program was held on Thursday, May 20, at the Mission Neighborhood Center, 362 Capp Street.



BPINS photo

Translator LIZ SANBOVAL (left), MARGARITA MERGAL (center), and RAHEMAH AMUN at San Francisco panel discussion on sterilization abuse.

Among the goals of CESA — a rapidly growing organization as the result of increased sterilization abuse in America and other parts of the world — are the following:

- To educate people on how U.S. policies of population control of poor and Third World people hurt all working people;
- To document and expose sterilization abuse in the Bay Area and to defend oppressed communities against it;
- To support and push stronger Department of Health, Education and Welfare (HEW) and state regulations on sterilization and insist on thorough enforcement;
- To work at changing spending priorities from population control to programs that will improve the quality of all people's lives.

A recent issue of the *Health/PAC Bulletin* explains that population control is "official

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BLACK CAUCUS DEMANDS INVESTIGATION OF F.B.I. ABUSES

(Washington, D.C.) - The Congressional Black Caucus has demanded that Congress conduct a thorough investigation of the FBI's illegal domestic intelligence-gathering activities against lawful private organizations and individuals — which included a concerted campaign to "discredit and destroy" the Black Panther Party and other progressive and civil rights organizations. (See related article, front cover.)

The 17 Black members of the House of Representatives have called on the Constitutional Rights Subcommittee of the House Judiciary Committee to broaden its investigation of FBI COINTELPRO operations and also urged that permanent Select Committees on Intelligence be created to continue probing the FBI.

California Representative Yvonne Braithwaite Burke, 1976 chairperson of the Caucus, commented, "Every American should consider what the FBI's actions mean in terms of organizations to which he or she belongs. These were law abiding citizens who were attacked and intimidated by social problems by fomenting violence and unrest."

By a vote of 72 to 22, the Senate two weeks ago established a 15-member Select Committee on Intelligence with sole authority to oversee the activities of the CIA and to authorize funds for the Agency's operations. The new Committee will also share with existing Senate committees jurisdiction over other intelligence agencies, including the FBI.

Meanwhile, the report of the Senate Select Committee on Intelligence, headed by Idaho Senator Frank Church, has continued to expose shocking illegal surveillance and harassing activities involving the FBI, CIA, Internal Revenue Service (IRS), the U.S. military and other federal agencies. Among the major findings of the Committee, in addition to its findings reported recently on FBI efforts to disrupt and destroy the Black Panther Party and malign the character of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., are:

•From 1941 to 1966 the FBI conducted a spying operation on the NAACP originally begun because of the civil rights organization's support of Blacks enlisted in the Navy during World War II who protested racial discrimination. The Intelligence Committee's report said that "As late as 1966, the FBI was obtaining NAACP chapter membership figures by 'pretext telephone calls'. . .utilizing the pretext of being interested in joining that branch of the NAACP."

•The CIA and the FBI lied to the Warren Commission about the assassination of President John F. Kennedy. Senator Richard Schweiker, a member of the subcommittee of the Senate's intelligence panel, said that the subcommittee had discovered "significant new material about defects and deficiencies" in the investigation of the Kennedy assassination. Earlier, it was revealed that the CIA failed to inform the Warren Commission of an Agency plot to kill Cuban Premier Fidel Castro on November 22, 1963 — the day of Kennedy's assassination — and that the FBI destroyed a note written by Lee Harvey Oswald, considered by the Warren Commission to be the sole person involved in Kennedy's death.

The Intelligence Committee voted unanimously to recommend that the newly created Select Committee on Intelligence conduct a new investigation of

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The Congressional Black Caucus has demanded that the Senate look into the illegal surveillance tactics (above) of various federal agencies.

the FBI, including members of the nation's highest legislative body."

Bay Area Congressman Ron Dellums, the only Black member to serve on the Select House Committee on Intelligence, said of the recently released Senate Intelligence Committee report — documenting extensive illegal surveillance, bugging, wiretapping and sabotage to create distrust within and among civil rights organizations — said:

"This report does demonstrate. . .that the chief investigative branch of the federal government, which was charged by law with investigating crimes and preventing criminal conduct, itself engaged in lawless tactics and responded to deep-seated

EYES ON CITY HALL

Oakland City Boards And Commissions Criticized

(Oakland, Calif.) - The Committee on the Composition of City Commissions, an ad hoc coalition of community groups, has presented a host of recommendations to the Oakland City Council to make city boards and commissions more effective and representative of the greater Oakland community. John O. Stansbury, president of OCCUR, presented the recommendations to the Council and requested a work session. Mayor Reading denied the request, saying in effect that his appointment to boards and commissions are an important political perogative and source of political power.

The Committee's recommendations revolved around three major issues:

(1) A more thorough search for applicants which reflect Oakland's diverse population, with particular emphasis on attracting minorities and women;

(2) The development of selection procedures which would make the Council and the public more knowledgeable about potential candidates; and

(3) A more in-depth orientation for newly-elected commissioners, enabling them to become effective participants as soon as possible.

City boards and commissions essentially act as "mini-city councils," offering advice and making policy decisions on how city activities should be carried out.

Milwaukee Police Chief Refuses To Divulge Activist Files

(Milwaukee, Wisc.) - Milwaukee police chief Harold "Two Gun" Brier has refused to divulge his department's "Red Squad" files to Black city alderman Ben E. Johnson and other individuals who have repeatedly requested them, the *Milwaukee Courier* reports.

Brier's refusal to release the files was supported by Milwaukee City Attorney James B. Brennan, who claimed that the federal Freedom of Information and Privacy Act exempts local police departments from disclosure of records unless the material which is held might deny the individual on file his rights under federal law.

Brennan admits, however, that since Brier has refused to reveal his files, it cannot be determined whether or not such federal violations have occurred.

The requests for the files were made last March during a hearing of the City Council's Committee on Public Safety of which Johnson is the chairperson. By a vote of 3-2, the Public Safety Committee voted against asking Brier for a description of the police department's Special Assignment Squad (known as the "Red Squad"). The Squad deals primarily with monitoring the political activities of citizens, such as protest demonstrations.

In a letter to Brennan, Johnson pointed out, "I cannot agree with Chief Brier that the workings of the Milwaukee Police Department, and particularly the Special Assignment Squad, are exempt from public scrutiny.

"I feel that the federal Freedom of Information Act was devised to ensure honesty and openness in government without which no public institution can be called truly democratic and free," he continued.

Besides Johnson, others making requests for personal files included David Luce, head of the Wisconsin Civil Liberties Union; Morris Seawright, Johnson's administrative assistant and Dan Carpenter, managing editor of the *Milwaukee Courier*. □



Black and poor Southern workers still endure slavelike working and living conditions.

BEAT BLACKS WITH HOSES

Slavery Exposed In Florida Labor Camps

(Tampa, Fla.) - Slavery in the U.S. of 1976?

That is what is being charged by a group of Florida farmworkers. The labor contractor they have named is now under investigation by federal and state agencies, the *Guardian* reports.

In a statement made to officials of Florida's Department of Commerce, Clayton Norris, a 65-year-old Black farmworker, charged that he had seen labor contractors beat people like dogs. Norris asserted that one of the contractors said, "He owned all of us and that's the way he liked it. He said that we were all in debt to him and couldn't go. . .I've seen his henchmen beat women in the fields with rubber hoses. . . ."

These are excerpts from the deposition made to state officials about Ivory Wilson, who runs a labor contractor camp near Lake Wales, Fla., together with his brothers Roscoe and Jimmy.

On April 22, Richard and Vonzell Brown fled the Wilson camp and informed Lake Wales sheriff's deputies about the camp. On April 26, with the assistance of state and federal officials, nine of the remaining workers were given an escort from the camp. One of them was a woman who the officials were told had suffered a stroke two weeks earlier. Three pickers who had boarded one of the Wilsonses' crew buses on April 21 could not be located.

Ivory Wilson and his brothers recruit harvesting crews which pick citrus fruits and vegetables from central Florida to North Carolina. They are under official investigation on charges of involuntary servitude and slavery.

Once freed from the Wilson

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LOS ANGELES COMMUNITY GROUPS STAGE PROTEST AGAINST POLICE BRUTALITY

(Los Angeles, Calif.) - Over 250 people from Black, Chicano and other poor communities throughout Los Angeles County held a spirited rally and demonstration here on May 6 in front of Parker Center, the central headquarters of the Los Angeles Board of Police Commissioners (LABPC), to demand an end to police murders and brutality in poor and oppressed communities in the county.

Organized by the newly formed Coalition Against Police Abuse (CAPA) — a broad-based organization of community groups founded in March of this year — "to eliminate police terrorism in our communities" — the demonstration occurred simultaneously with the presentation of the demands of the organization before the LABPC by CAPA representatives.

Outside Parker Center, which also houses the notorious Los Angeles Police Department (LAPD), CAPA demonstrators carried colorful picket signs and chanted, "Stop the Murders — Jail the Killer Cops," and "We Want Justice." CAPA supporters also filled the Police Board's room inside the Center where CAPA spokespersons addressed the Board.

These groups included the Scott-Smith Committee for Justice, People United for Justice for Barry Evans, the Timothy Grandpre Justice Committee, Ted Collins Justice Committee, and DeWayne Waheeb Williams Defense Committee. Ms. Linda Ferguson, an attorney from the Greater Watts Justice Center, also spoke before the Police Board.

Richard Martinez, a CAPA spokesperson, presented the organization's following six demands to the police commissioners:

(1) Suspension without pay and indictment of all police officers involved in cases of beatings and murders of community people;

(2) Elimination of the Internal Affairs Division, the current investigative arm of the LAPD, and the establishment of an impartial, community-controlled agency to investigate charges of police abuse and criminal misconduct;







Over 250 people from Los Angeles' Black, Chicano and poor communities attended a May 6 rally against police abuse.

(3) Establishment of a "special prosecutor" for all cases of police crime to be appointed by the Los Angeles County Board of Supervisors (LACBS) and approved by a community-controlled agency set up to investigate such crimes;

(4) An end to the illegal involvement of police officers in deportations;

(5) Elimination of special tactics squads (such as SWAT) because of their general threat to the safety and welfare of the community and because their sole function is to destroy legitimate organizing efforts in the communities;

(6) An independent investigation of the Los Angeles County district attorney's office for its lack of indictments of police who have abused and terrorized community people.

Spokespersons for the various CAPA groups then gave an overview of the particular cases of senseless police killings and abuse around which they have organized.

Bob Duren, spokesperson for

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400 In Detroit March To "Free Gary Tyler"

(Detroit, Mich.) - Over 400 angry people marched down Detroit's Woodward Avenue here on May 1 to demand the freedom of Gary Tyler, a 17-year-old Louisiana Black youth framed for murder in a school busing incident who has been sentenced to die in the electric chair. (See THE BLACK PANTHER, May 15, 1976.)

Although Tyler was recently denied a new trial, protests continue to mount over his case, sparked by the original injustice of his arrest and conviction by an all-White jury, and later inflamed by the recantation of several key witnesses against him — all charging intimidation by Louisiana police.

The Detroit demonstration and rally was called by the Detroit Committee to Free Gary Tyler, the Red Tide, Women Against Racism and Workers' Power. This was the first in a series of demonstrations that will continue across the country until Gary Tyler is freed.



Angry New York mothers protest day-care cutbacks. Urban League Executive Director Vernon Jordan terms the current trend toward total neglect of this country's Black and poor, "the new minimalism."

"New Minimalism"

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 2

attitude of enmity toward the plight of the poor, the Blacks and the cities in which they live. Beneath the facade of self-styled hard-nosed, bottom-line-oriented administrators lurks the profound ignorance of the way social spending pays for itself in the long run — and sometimes even in the short run. It is a form, in actuality, of social investment.

This illustrates the need for federal manpower programs — indeed, for continuing relationships between the public sector, the private sector and community-based nonprofit agencies. Specifically, they reveal the desirability of affirmative action programs and, above all, the need for Americans to accept the truth that federal social spending is an important investment in the future.

Antigovernment rhetoric may have superficial appeal but it doesn't put people to work, it doesn't erase the barriers of discrimination and it doesn't end the moral and economic stagnation that characterize our society today.

The cornerstones of a Marshall Plan for the 1970s should be a national full-employment policy that guarantees decent jobs at decent wages to everyone capable of working and a national income maintenance plan that puts an income floor beneath each family.

The latter would replace our brutalizing, dehumanizing welfare system, and would take the form of a universal, refundable credit income tax. It would provide sustenance for those in need, additional help for low-income families and do away with the cumbersome weight of a bureaucratized system.

The national full-employment policy would include:

—Incentives to the private sector to hire and train the jobless.

—A federal public works program along the lines of the old WPA that helped sustain millions of the jobless during the depression of the 1930s.

— A vastly expanded public service employment program to help fill the pressing need for services while creating jobs.

It is too often forgotten that many more Whites than Blacks are jobless, poor and on welfare. It is too often forgotten that while Blacks suffer disproportionately higher rates of economic hardship, five times as many Whites are jobless and twice as many are poor.

So these issues can't be framed in racial terms alone; they can no more be seen as "Black" issues than could those programs of the '60s that benefited so many more Whites than Blacks.

It often seems as if the great ideals like freedom, liberty and equality have lost their meaning for many Americans today. But for Black people, those concepts still live and breathe; they still move us. They cannot be taken lightly by people who, only within the past two decades, have received rights and opportunities long taken for granted by the rest of the nation.

To those tempted to follow today's fashion by abdicating the personal responsibility that is the foundation of ethical behavior — copping out of the fight for justice and freedom — let me remind them of the teaching of the great Jewish thinker, Hillel:

Where there are no men, be thou a man.

It might be good for all Americans to reflect on these timeless words, also by Hillel:

If I am not for myself, who shall be for me?
If I am only for myself, what am I?
If not now, when?□

"Wrongful Death" Suit Filed Against Oakland Police In Calhoun Murder

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 3

Calhoun was being sought as a robbery suspect. Officer Teich and Sgt. Kenneth Pearson — who were in separate cars — received a description of the alleged robber and the getaway car and cornered Calhoun's car at 85th Avenue near Birch Street. The two policemen were subsequently joined by Officers Musch and Herbert Heanes, all of whom ordered Calhoun out of his car, according to police accounts.

SUIT MAINTAINS

Upon being ordered out of his car, Calhoun immediately complied, the suit maintains, as well as eyewitnesses at the scene. However, when Calhoun began running north on 85th Avenue, Musch and Teich fired at him with their shotguns, wounding him fatally in the back, head and legs.

Eyewitnesses to Calhoun's murder insisted that police could have captured him without killing him. Mrs. Eula Brinson of 1735 85th Avenue, across the street and a few houses away from where Calhoun was murdered, was home with her two daughters when the incident occurred. The three women told news reporters that police had completely blocked off the street.

"He couldn't have gotten away and he didn't have any weapons," said Gwen Henigen, one of Mrs. Brinson's daughters. Shelley Henigen said she counted at least four police cars in the area before the shooting and some 15 police officers and numerous others on the scene seconds after the firing started.

Police claimed that $23 and a loaded automatic handgun were later found in Calhoun's car.

The suit states that "plaintiffs have been deprived of the society, comfort, protection, services and support of their son and have thereby sustained pecuniary losses in an amount to be ascertained at the time of trial of this action."□

PEOPLE'S PERSPECTIVE

B-1 BOMBER DELAYED

(Washington, D.C.) - The U.S. Senate voted 44 to 37 here last week to delay production of the costly B-1 bomber until after the Presidential inauguration next year. The Senate adopted an amendment by Senator John Culver delaying the ultimate decision on the B-1 bomber and requiring that the President personally certify that the plane is essential to national defense.

SCHOOL BOYCOTT ENDS

(Brooklyn, N.Y.) - A community boycott of Lefferts Junior High School, begun by the Parents' Association to protest the appointment of Jay Littman, a White man, as principal of the school, ended here last week when the Community School Board rescinded the appointment. The parents group had strongly recommended Gladstone Atwell, who is Black, based on his superior academic record and professional background. The Community School Board rescinded the appointment after accepting the parents' grievances that the Board had acted improperly.

SAN QUENTIN TO BE RAZED?

(Sacramento, Calif.) - The state Department of Corrections has proposed that San Quentin Prison be razed and replaced by seven new "miniprisons" — six of them in southern California. In response to Governor Brown's expressed "concern about antiquated facilities at San Quentin," state Department of Corrections Director Jiro Enomoto won approval from an Assembly Ways and Means subcommittee for $92,000 to study the proposed demolition.

PATRIOT HONORED

(New York, N.Y.) - With a strong rebuff against *The New York Times* for instigating a controversy against them, members of the local Community School Board have remained firm in their decision to rename P.S. 161, a school with 76 per cent Hispanic attendance, after the Puerto Rican independence patriot, Don Pedro Albizu Campos. Speaking for the Board at a recent press conference, Delia Ortiz said, "The Black and Hispanic community has no reason to fear those who fight for the oppressed and economically disadvantaged wherever they may be."

Blacks In Public Office Less Than 3 Per Cent In South

(Atlanta, Ga.) - A dramatic annual increase of 356 Black elected officials, bringing the total number of Southern offices held by Blacks to 1,944, still leaves Blacks with only 2.5 per cent of the total number of offices in 11 southern states, according to the latest findings of the Voter Education Project (VEP).

"In the overwhelming majority of political subdivisions in the South, there are no Black elected officials at all," observed John Lewis, executive director of the nonpartisan Voter Education Project. "We are pleased by the increase, which is 27 times the number of Blacks who held office in 1965, but when you consider that Blacks constitute 20.4 per cent of the population of the 11 southern states, there is obviously a serious problem of under-representation.

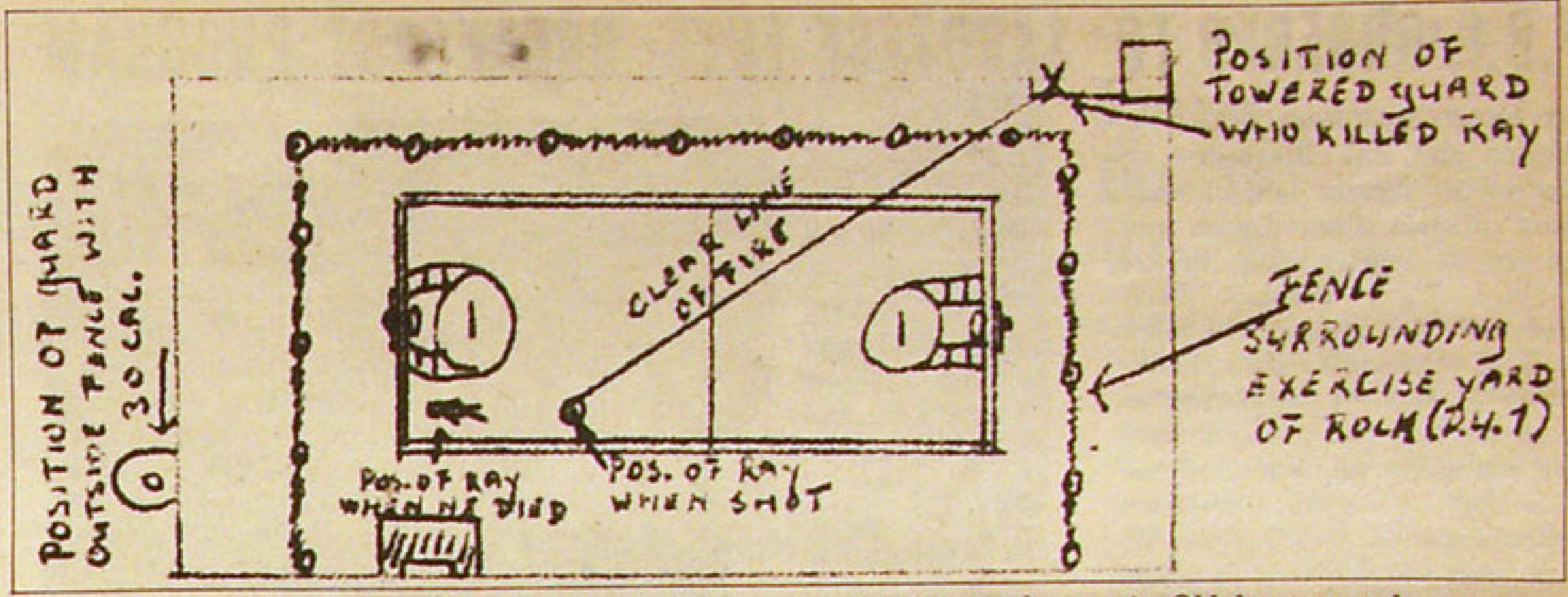
"For the aspirations of Blacks and other minorities who have a strong desire to participate in the government of this country, time may be running out," warned Lewis.

GAINS

"The gains which are being made today are changing the climate of both regional and national politics and have changed some of the conditions which Black people must face daily, but in terms of the untapped resources of full political participation, we haven't seen the real gains which are needed."

Stanley Alexander, VEP research director, pointed out that the number of Black elected officials has increased substantially each year since the Voting Rights Act was passed in 1965, when only 72 Blacks held public office. By 1970, the number stood at 565, with the following annual increases since that time: 1971 — 711; 1972 — 873; 1973 — 1,144; 1974 — 1,307; and 1975 — 1,588.

The 1,944 elective offices now held by Blacks in the South are distributed as follows: Alabama, 193; Arkansas, 212; Florida, 79; Georgia, 221; Louisiana, 278; Mississippi, 237; North Carolina, 210; South Carolina, 153; Tennessee, 118; Texas, 155; and Virginia, 88. This count includes 23 Black officials who have been appointed to elective office to fill unexpired terms on state school boards, judgeships, and city and county governing bodies. □



Description of the murder of a Native American inmate by a racist Oklahoma guard.

VIVID LETTER FROM McALESTER PRISON, OKLAHOMA

"THERE IS A DEAD MAN LYING OUTSIDE MY WINDOW"

Following, THE BLACK PANTHER reprints a letter received at our editorial offices last week vividly and poignantly describing an eyewitness account of the murder of a prison inmate at McAlester Prison in Oklahoma on April 24 of this year. We thank Ms. Corrie Courtens, coordinator of the International Committee Against Torture (ICAT) based in Amsterdam, Holland, for forwarding this message to the community.

"As I write this letter to you there is a dead man lying outside my window on the unit's exercise yard. His name is Comrade Ray Herrod #72115. His body is covered with a woolen blanket.

"The wind is blowing a little but not much. He is the only figure on the yard. His body has been laying there, alone, for about one hour now. What happened? How was he killed? Who killed him? And why?

Ray Herrod was a proud, strong-willed and determined Native American, an American Indian. The years I have known him are not many, but two or three. The best way to describe his character is to say he was a Man. A Man's Man. He was easy going, of mild temperament, quiet, very socially inclined. He despised injustice, but doesn't every man? Like the man he was, he had lived with injustice all his life and died a physical death at the hands of his tormentors (captors).

URGE TO SCREAM

"(I'm trying to contain the urge to scream out and also to rush into this, because I want to be as clearly understood as possible and I do not want to say anything I do not mean, nor do I want to put down anything but facts. So I must calm myself. But it could have been me.)

"Ray Herrod had been in a brief fist fight with another inmate on the Rock's exercise yard. In the process of the fist fight the tower guards grabbed their weapons — M-1 carbines, 30-30's and rifles — and ordered him (Ray) to break it up. The two convicts parted.

BASKETBALL COURT

"Ray was standing on the basketball court, outside my window. There was a guard standing just outside the fence, with a 30 caliber rifle aimed at Ray, about 10 feet from where Ray stood. The tower guard, in the tower, was about 40 to 50 feet away from where Ray stood. He also had his weapon pointed at Ray. He had a sniper-scope on his weapon.

"Not only was there 40 to 50 feet between them (Ray and the tower guard), but there was a fence about eight feet high and topped with barbed wire; then to reach the tower where the tower guard stood was about 30 feet high. The fight was over, and the guard outside the fence was calling Ray and was pointing his weapon at Ray.

"Ray was facing the guard and his back was to the tower guard. I heard a shot. I saw Ray grab his back and grimace. As he (Ray) reached at his left side with his left hand he began to turn slowly toward his left. His back came into view. I saw a red patch and knew that Ray had been shot in the back.

"From the position I was in I could swear that the bullet entering from his back, just next to the spinal column, lodged in Ray's heart. Ray began to stumble backward, trying to keep his balance, to stay on his feet. He fell, face down on the basketball court. I knew he was dead. Something told me that even if they had put a doctor on the spot, Ray couldn't have been saved. The tower guard had shot Ray from his 30 foot perch, looking through a scope. In cold blood, murdered.

"This entire process of fist fight, shooting and death lasted about seven or eight minutes.

"This is what we can expect from our situation.

"This is what our fate is in the hands of America.

"This is another taste of the bitter pill called 'American Justice.' You know some people have said we were building myths when I wrote about the beatings; when we wrote letters complaining about rules and regulations; about the warden's orders to guards, to shoot to kill. They probably mused at the phraseology of letters which we wrote beseeching attention, assistance, aid, physical and psychological support.

"Finally they have begun to gun us down. In cold blood. Men who refuse to bend. Men who will stay Men regardless of the environmental conditions or consequences. And we die as Men.

"You know a coward hates to see a man — a real man. But when you take the small community of McAlester, Oklahoma, especially those who border the prison and work in it, you've got a whole nest full of cowards.

"Give them guns, sticks, and all manner of weapons and they run into a small group of Men who will not give up their manhood. Then the cowards become sadists.

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F.B.I. ORDERED TO SABOTAGE FREE BREAKFAST PROGRAM

CONTINUED FROM FRONT PAGE

Whites and one Black are 28 present or former law enforcement officials charged with conspiracy to deprive slain Illinois Chapter Black Panther Party leaders Fred Hampton and Mark Clark of their civil rights. Plaintiffs in the case are the Hampton-Clark families and seven former BPP members who survived the December 4, 1969, predawn police raid.

Concerning Hoover's fanatical attitude against the BPP Free Breakfast Program attorney Jeffrey Haas, introduced the three-page memo into evidence during his direct examination of Robert Piper, the FBI special agent who headed the Chicago Bureau's Racial Matters Squad.

Hoover wrote that the Free Breakfast Program for Schoolchildren: "*. . .has met with some success and has resulted in considerable favorable publicity for the Black Panther Party.*

"*The resulting publicity tends to portray the BPP in a favorable light,*" the memo says before lapsing into Hoover's typical rhetoric that the program, "*clouds the violent nature of the group and its ultimate aim of insurrection.*"

TACIT SUPPORT

Going on, the memo says that Free Breakfast Programs "*promote at least tacit support for the BPP among naive individuals, both Black and White, and, what is more distressing, provides the BPP with a ready audience composed of highly impressionable youth of tender age on which to propagate its message of hate and violence.*"

Contrary to Hoover's hysterical "message of hate" accusations, the Party's Free Breakfast Program for Schoolchildren, the first BPP Survival Program widely established, provided poor and needy youth with a free, hot, nutritious breakfast every day before school. Set up in local churches, neighborhood centers, and occasionally in the homes of the program's supporters, the popular Free Breakfast Program incurred the wrath of federal authorities by pointing up the contradiction of hunger in the U.S., and providing a model, collective solution to this social problem.

Further on in the memo, after repeating his often stated goal "*to neutralize the BPP and what it stands for,*" Hoover ordered FBI agents to come up with discreet but appropriate "*Counterintelligence action*" to learn sources for the Breakfast Program's funding and whether the youth were "*being indoctrinated with Black extremism.*"



Illinois Black Panther Party leader FRED HAMPTON was a target in the FBI campaign to discredit and destroy the Black Panther Party, and this resulted in his murder in a predawn police raid on December 4, 1969.

He added a cover-up clause to "*Insure that no implication is created that we are investigating the BCP (Breakfast for Children Program) itself or the church where it is being held.*" (See next week's issue of THE BLACK PANTHER for more on the FBI attempts to destroy the Free Breakfast Program for Schoolchildren.)

Regarding other highlights of the five-month-old trial:

•A COINTELPRO memo, bearing Piper's initials and dated July 9, 1969, was introduced into evidence stating that agent Robert Conners assured Washington FBI headquarters that no lawyer-client calls were ever bugged, that all Chicago agents were thoroughly instructed not to listen in and that a list of all BPP lawyers was kept at the FBI office to insure privacy.

This memo directly contradicts other COINTELPRO documents which indicate that at least 25 conversations between Fred Hampton and several Party attorneys — including Dennis Cunningham, who is an attorney for the plaintiffs in the present case — were monitored and transcribed by the FBI. Ironically, reports the *Chicago Defender*, FBI memos on the tapped lawyer-client conversation bear the initials of Connors, the same agent who assured Washington that such monitoring did not take place.

•Confronted by mounting criticism from the Black community, U.S. Attorney Sam Skinner has removed his top aide, Charles Kocoras, from conducting an inquiry into a probe of withheld COINTELPRO documents because Kocoras once prosecuted a case involving FBI witnesses who are the defendants in the Fred Hampton murder case.

Skinner's removal of Kocoras came in response to demands by two Black state legislators, Representative Harold Washington and Senator Richard Newhouse, that the U.S. attorney's office investigate government "stonewalling" tactics.

It was in January of this year that trial judge Perry first ordered the FBI to turn over to the plaintiffs all COINTELPRO documents and memos related to the Chicago BPP Chapter and the Hampton-Clark assassinations.

In March, an inadvertent slip by one FBI agent revealed that the government attorneys defending the FBI agents in the case had conspired with their clients to illegally withhold over 90 per cent of the relevant COINTELPRO files.

This discovery has led to charges of "outrage" by several community leaders, including Washington, Newhouse, outgoing NAACP Executive Director Roy Wilkins, and Socialist Workers Party candidates for President and Vice President, Peter Camejo and Willie Mae Reid.

"It's incredible that Skinner would name Kocoras to investigate charges of "misconduct," said attorney Flint Taylor for the plaintiffs, before Kocoras' removal. "It's like appointing John Mitchell to investigate Watergate."

•Following disclosures of even more withheld COINTELPRO documents, Judge Perry has ordered a temporary halt to the proceedings so he could go through a new set of materials. These FBI files, the *Defender* reports, contain instructions to FBI agents on "how to deal with Fred Hampton and the Panthers."□

L.A. Community Groups Protest

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 7

the Long Beach (California)-based Scott-Smith Committee for Justice — which grew out of the brutal murder of Duren's sister Betty Scott, last September by an officer of the California Highway Patrol (CHP) — detailed police harassment that he and other Committee members have been subjected to since the Duren family filed a "wrongful death" lawsuit against the CHP. Duren told the Police Board, in part:

". . .The current problem of unlawful police violence and abuse of police power is one that has plagued Black, Brown and other poor residents of Los Angeles County for years. Police abuse is a problem that clearly affects the civil and human rights guaranteed to all citizens by the U.S. Constitution. . . .

The police commissioners refused to act on the CAPA complaints on the grounds that various lawsuits CAPA groups have filed against the LAPD are still pending.□

Black Caucus

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 6

Kennedy's assassination.

•The IRS "seriously and illegally abused" the privacy of tax returns in carrying out missions for the FBI, CIA and the White House. Between 1963 and 1975 the Special Services Staff (SSS) of the IRS operated a computerized information gathering and retrieving system that contained general intelligence on 465,442 persons or groups and plans to include 11,000 organizations.

The Church Committee's report on the IRS also said that SSS targets during its 12-year intelligence operation were selected primarily "because of their political activism, rather than because specific facts indicated tax violations were present."

•The supersecret National Security Agency (NSA) still spies on the international messages of many U.S. citizens through its "vacuum-cleaner style" of eavesdropping. The Church Committee found that as late as 1975 the NSA was intercepting the telegrams and tapping the telephone calls of some 75,000 U.S. citizens.

•During the middle and late 1960s agents of the U.S. Defense Department infiltrated numerous civil rights and anti-Vietnam war organizations as well as spied on an estimated 100,000 individuals in efforts to probe "dissident" political groups and citizens.□



Over 2,500 Puerto Rican and Black students marched through the streets of New York City to protest the closing of Hostos College. There were widespread protests in the city to oppose welfare cutbacks in Black and poor communities.

2,500 BLACKS AND PUERTO RICANS MARCH TO SAVE HOSTOS COLLEGE

(New York, N.Y.) - Over 2,500 Puerto Rican and Black students marched here recently in the continuing struggle to keep open Hostos College, the only bilingual college on the East Coast.

The New York City Board of Higher Education is planning to close Hostos and Medgar Evers Colleges both of which serve primarily Black and Latino students. City-wide, the Board is trying to impose a stiff tuition fee on the City University of New York (CUNY) system and is seeking to substantially cut the university's 275,000 enrollment. As it is now, with no tuition, many CUNY students still have to borrow to be able to attend the university.

The march and rally was led by groups such as the Puerto Rican Socialist Party (PSP), Federation of Puerto Rican Socialist University Students (FUSP), National Student Coalition Against Racism, CUNY United For Action and many other groups and individuals opposed to these racist cutbacks. The march proceeded through the Bronx and ended up at the office of the Emergency Financial Control Board, reports the *Militant*.

In March of this year, when the proposed cuts were revealed Hostos College students and communty activists took over the college and its administration, pledging to keep it open and establish it as a community "center for struggle."

Since then there have been continuous protests and demonstrations by students and organizations many led by the Puerto Rican Socialist Party (see last week's issue of THE BLACK PANTHER) which has prominantly opposed the plans of the New York big banks and city to cut back on educational opportunities for poor and minority students.

While this latest Hostos protest was taking place, some 20,000 students at New York City College, also threatened by cuts and tuition increases, held a three-day strike, reports the *Guardian*.

The New York Emergency Financial Control Board (EFCB) composed of bankers and politicians, has refused to give in to the protests and instead plan for more drastic cuts in the city's Black and poor communities. The EFCB recently announced that four more municipal hospitals would have to shut down completely while service in the remaining eight would be curtailed.

At Governor Hospital, in the predominantly Latin section of Manhattan's Lower East Side, some 100 community residents seized a section of the hospital and took several "hostages" — actually willing hosptial staffers — to protest the planned shutdown of the facility on June 30. Meanwhile, at Fordham Hospital in the Bronx, protesters have been sitting in for over a month to insure that the hospital, which serves poor and low-income families, will not also be closed on June 30, also.

The *Guardian* reports that citywide, over 3,300 hospital workers are slated to be fired out of the city's 18,000 hospital workers. The hospital workers union has announced it is prepared to go on strike when their contract expires on May 24. This could be a formidable setback for the EFCB because it might set off a general strike of the city's 160,000 workers whose contract expires on June 30. To compound this situation the EFCB is asking New York Transit to give up their cost-of-living salary increase which they won in bargaining last month in lieu of a pay increase.

There has also been resistance to attmepts by the city and the state to hike rent in public and subsidized housing. In one project, Co-Op City (which has 60,000 tenants) residents have been on a rent strike for six months to protest a 90 per cent increase in rents over a two year period.

A city judge has threatened the tenants by giving the state the authority to foreclose on the mortgage of the project, sell it and evict the 15,000 families. However the tenants' rent strike steering committee has vowed to continue the strike regardless of the judge's ruling.☐



Black and Latino students proceed to rally in front of EFCB offices, architect of New York City cutbacks.

Chicano Students Demand End To U.C. Racism

(Berkeley, Calif.) - Over 500 Chicano students staged a demonstration and walkout here last week at the University of California Berkeley (UCB) campus to demand a greater voice in university affairs and an increase in the school's Chicano enrollment.

Chicano demonstrators marched to the office of UCB President David Saxon where the angry students demanded an end to the bias of the university. They announced that similar Chicano-led protests were being held on the San Diego and Santa Barbara campuses of the U.C. system.

The specific demands of the Chicano students are: (1) That the university immediately implement recommendations of the president's Task Force on the Status of Chicanos; (2) The strengthening of Raza supportive services; (3) More Chicano staff, faculty and administrators.



Chicano students demonstrate against U.C. racism.

The Concilio, a UCB Chicano student organization, pointed out that although Chicanos comprise 17 per cent of California's population, there is less than a two per cent Chicano enrollment in the U.C. system. In the fall of 1975, out of 6,000 new admissions to the U.C. Berkeley campus, there were only 72 new Chicano admissions.

In recent years the Chicano enrollment at the school has been declining and the Concilio pointed to the fact that Raza students have a median parental income of $7,000 compared to the campus-wide parental income of $18,000.

All of these points were also brought out in the Task Force's report, the group charged, as well as specific recommendations offered to correct the situation, which the university ignored.

"From a policy of systematic ignorance," states a Concilio statement, "it has now become a policy of systematic neglect. Both spell institutional racism."☐

...And Bid Him Sing

By David G. Du Bois

Exciting Novel Examines The Lives Of Black Americans In Egypt

In the following excerpt from . . .And Bid Him Sing, an unhappy Mika returns home after quarreling with Suliman. Suliman and Mika are two of the main characters in BLACK PANTHER Editor-in-Chief David G. Du Bois' exciting tale of self-exiled Black Americans living in Cairo, Egypt, at the time of the 1967 Middle East war.

PART 32

Mika paid the driver the exact meter fare without a tip, got out and headed for the grocer next to her entrance. In Arabic she greeted the older man seated behind the cash drawer and then the younger man, his son, standing behind the counter. They both returned the greetings with wide smiles.

"Milk and cigarettes?" the younger man asked in English, smiling proudly.

"Just milk. I have cigarettes," Mika replied in heavily accented but correct Arabic. She only used Arabic when compelled to. "I'll send down an empty bottle," she added.

USUAL MOOD

Both men realized she was not in her usual effervescent mood and said no more. She took the milk, paid and left. "*Ma Salem,*" they intoned in unison.

"*Allahisalamek,*" she replied.

Her bowab was not at the entrance. He seldom was. But she had hoped he would be now so she could ask him to tell nobody that she was in. Her apartment was on the fifth floor of a once elegant building. Traces of its elegance remained, like the cushioned seat in the elevator that folded up when not occupied. Mika always used the seat alone in the elevator.

Was it worth it, she thought. She was always tired these days, except when she was with Suliman. She realized that being with him exhausted her. But she was only aware of her exhaustion when she wasn't with him. She only asked herself this question when she was alone after some unresolved friction. She had never been one to take up causes and therefore refused to recognize that Suliman had become a cause for her. She was, however, determined to prove to him that not every "whitey" was his sworn enemy.

In the process, he had, in fact and in spirit, swept her off her feet. He had added an element of challenge to her life that she had not realized she needed, but that she reveled in. He had brought a relevance into her life that made her delight in a feeling of belonging to the world around her, to the moment, a feeling she'd never known before. She knew that without him she would somehow be less the person she was capable of being. So she held on tenaciously.

As always when she entered the dark coolness of her apartment she was reminded that it never saw the sun — and the year-round Cairo sun was one of the main reasons she loved the city. It had windows along one side only, facing north. A taller building faced those windows.

In winter she kept two kerosene heaters going. But it was comfortably furnished in the European style and had a telephone, and it was far enough away from the homes of the others at the mission to make it easy for her to receive the friends she wanted, when she wanted them.

Halawa, her housekeeper and cook, welcome counselor and unwelcome guardian, was in the kitchen putting the finishing touches on Mika's lunch. The apartment was full of its spicy aromas. She heard Mika come in and knew she would come immediately into the kitchen to greet her.

"Hi, Halawa. How is everything?"

She's tired and peeved about something, Halawa thought. "*Ahlan,* madame. Everything's fine. That Kamal called again. Said he'd call later." After a pause, "Is he a friend of Mr. Suliman's?"

"Yes. I'll eat as soon as you're ready."

"Everything's ready. You can sit down in two minutes."

Mika was grateful to have Halawa. She had a sixth sense about people and Mika always took careful note of her reaction to them. Nothing Mika had said to Halawa, however, had suggested that she did not like Kamal. He'd only been to the house once when Halawa was there. Maybe it was simply that Halawa herself did not like him.

"If Kamal calls again while you're here just tell him I'm not in."

"Good!" Halawa replied with emphasis.

HALAWA'S ENGLISH

Halawa's English was functional. With Mika she mixed in Arabic in a way they'd come to understand together. Mika did the same thing. Most of the Arabic she knew she'd learned from Halawa.

"I'll be going out this evening, so you can go as soon as you finish cleaning up. But remember, we're having people for lunch tomorrow, so think about what you're going to prepare."

"I'll fix duck," Halawa replied immediately, "if it's all right with you; and I was thinking —"

"It's all right," Mika cut her off. "Fix anything you like. We'll talk about it in the morning." She turned to leave the kitchen.

"*Haadre* (Very good)," Halawa replied, only slightly hurt. She took great pride in her cooking.

It was after ten when Suliman arrived at my place. His visits were irregular now. When he did come it was usually for some specific purpose. Over the months he'd built up a tidy little debt to me. Since he'd started working I had expected to begin receiving some of the cash back. I suspected that one of the reasons he came infrequently now was this.

He'd kept very careful account of his debt to me, however, and often showed me the little black book in which each item was listed, with dates, amounts and total owed. He promised faithfully to return every cent. I never raised the matter with him. He raised it almost every time we saw each other.

TO BE CONTINUED



Cairo apartment houses on Jazirah River.

REVOLUTIONARY SUICIDE

By Huey P. Newton

"Sacramento And The Panther Bill"

On May 2, 1967, a delegation led by the fledgling Black Panther Party went to Sacramento, California's capitol, armed with weapons to protest the proposed Mulford gun control bill as an attack upon Black people's right to self defense. At this dramatic and startling demonstration, the Party's historic Executive Mandate No. 1 was read to the national media.

In this portion of the chapter, "Sacramento and the Panther Bill," Black Panther Party leader and chief theoretician Huey P. Newton describes the preparation which went into the Sacramento incident, which, as he says, "put the Party on the map."

PART 52

Institutions work this way. A son is murdered by the police, and nothing is done. The institutions send the victim's family on a merry-go-round, going from one agency to another, until they wear out and give up. This is a very effective way to beat down poor and oppressed people, who do not have the time to prosecute their cases.

Time is money to poor people. To go to Sacramento means loss of a day's pay — often a loss of a job. If this is a democracy, obviously it is a bourgeois democracy limited to the middle and upper classes. Only they can afford to participate in it.

Knowing all this, we nonetheless made plans to go to Sacramento. That we would not change any laws was irrelevant, and all of us — Black Panthers and Dowells — realized that from the start.

Since we were resigned to a runaround in Sacramento, we decided to raise the encounter to a higher level in the hope of warning people about the dangers in the Mulford bill and the ideas behind it. A national outcry would help the Dowell family by showing them that some good had come from their tragedy; also, it might mobilize our community even more.

DOZENS OF REPORTERS

Dozens of reporters and photographers haunt the capitol waiting for a story. This made the perfect forum for our proclamation. If the legislators got the message, too, well and good. But our primary purpose was to deliver it to the people.

Actually, several groups went: four or five members of the Dowell family; a group of brothers from East Oakland, recruited by Mark Comfort, and the Black Panthers. The Black Panthers and Comfort's cadre were armed.

The Party agreed that I ought not to make the trip for two reasons. First, I was on probation from the Odell Lee case, and they did not want to jeopardize my freedom. Second, if any arrests were made in Sacramento, someone should be available to raise bail money and do whatever else was necessary.

Before they left, I prepared Executive Mandate Number One, which was to be our message to the Black communities. It read:



The Black men, led by the Black Panther Party, who made history on May 12, 1967, when they went to the California state legislature, armed with guns, to protest racist gun-control laws. Note BPP People's Artist EMORY DOUGLAS (center, kneeling).

"The Black Panther Party for Self-Defense calls upon the American people in general, and Black people in particular, to take careful note of the racist California Legislature now considering legislation aimed at keeping Black people disarmed and powerless while racist police agencies throughout the country intensify the terror, brutality, murder, and repression of Black people.

"At the same time the American Government is waging a racist war of genocide in Vietnam the concentration camps in which Japanese-Americans were interned during World War II are being renovated and expanded. Since America has historically reserved its most barbaric treatment for non-White people, we are forced to conclude that these concentration camps are being prepared for Black people who are determined to gain their freedom by any means necessary. The enslavement of Black people at the very founding of this country, the genocide practiced on the American Indians and the confinement of the survivors on reservations, the savage lynching of thousands of Black men and women, the dropping of atomic bombs on Hiroshima and Nagasaki, and now the cowardly massacre in Vietnam all testify to the fact that toward people of color the racist power structure of America has but one policy: repression, genocide, terror, and the big stick.

"Black people have begged, prayed, petitioned and demonstrated, among other things, to get the racist power structure of America to right the wrongs which have historically been perpetrated against Black people. All of these efforts have been answered by more repression, deceit, and hypocrisy. As the aggression of the racist American Government escalates in Vietnam, the police agencies of America escalate the repression of Black people throughout the ghettos of America. Vicious police dogs, cattle prods, and increased patrols have become familiar sights in Black communities. City Hall turns a deaf ear to the pleas of Black people for relief from this increasing terror.

"The Black Panther Party for Self-Defense believes that the time has come for Black people to arm themselves against this terror before it is too late. The pending Mulford act brings the hour of doom one step nearer. A people who have suffered so much for so long at the hands of a racist society must draw the line somewhere. We believe that the Black communities of America must rise up as one man to halt the progression of a trend that leads inevitably to their total destruction.

When I gave Bobby his instructions, I impressed upon him that our main purpose was to deliver the message to the people. If he was fired upon, he should return the fire. If a gun was drawn on him and it was his interpretation that the gun was drawn in anger, he was to use whatever means necessary to defend himself.

His instructions were not to fire or take the offensive unless in imminent danger. If they attempted to arrest him, he was to take the arrest as long as he had delivered the message. The main thing was to deliver the message.

In stressing these points, I told him that if he was invited in or allowed inside the legislature, he was to read the message inside, but if it was against the rules to enter the legislature, or if measures were taken to block him then he was not to enter, but to read the message from the capital steps.

TO BE CONTINUED

ALAMEDA COUNTY BOARD OF SUPERVISORS, 5TH DISTRICT

JOHN GEORGE: "WE'RE HERE TO DO THINGS FOR THE PEOPLE"

Noted Black Oakland attorney John George is not at all an ordinary candidate seeking public office on a platform of half-truths and misleading innuendoes. Rather, as the following interview with THE BLACK PANTHER clearly demonstrates, John George is sincerely concerned and committed to constructive social change for Black and poor communities, all communities, really. Combined with his vast skills and experience in the civil rights and criminal law fields, John blends his social concerns into a framework of egalitarian justice for all people. ON JUNE 8, VOTE FOR JOHN GEORGE FOR THE ALAMEDA COUNTY BOARD OF SUPERVISORS, FIFTH DISTRICT.

Q: During your campaign, you have said you intended to "humanize the issues." What does that mean?

GEORGE: What it means is that we are out here to do things *for people*: provide health services for people; income maintenance for people. Building buildings shouldn't be the priority when you are trying to meet the needs of the people. We're trying to provide food, shelter and clothes for the people. If they don't have those things, then looking at beautiful buildings, concrete monsters, is not going to mean too much.

A basic thing is to see that people are provided with adequate health care. Health care must be accessible and available. Life is not worth living if you cannot acquire good health or if you are not in good health. Since there are many people not in good health, then every effort must be made to provide them with medical care. I think just being on this earth gives you a right to medical care, adequate medical care. I think it's a scandal to have people who are sick, waiting and waiting and waiting to be served. It is also a scandal to have nurses and doctors overloaded to the extent that they cannot provide the services adequately.

We've got buildings going up, we've got money being spent on submarines, airplanes, — all these things — and community health clinics are begging and begging for money, money that they need to provide services for the many people that are overcrowded in county facilities. Senior citizens need senior citizens' centers; adequate recreation and places where they can do art work; adequate places where they can eat; adequate places where they can meet and continue to exchange ideas.

Now, people who are poor have a right to enjoy these things too. We are in a position for people not to be poor. I think that's what I'm talking about.

Q: What are the key issues, the key problem areas, that need to be "humanized," that need a "people's orientation"?

GEORGE: In Alameda County, we've got the situation where you don't get off into education directly; the school districts run the schools. But the children going to school in the area of my jurisdiction geographically, the Fifth District, if they are not adequately educated then they are going to have all of the problems and will be running into all of the difficulties that a person without education runs into in a society that places a premium on having certain credentials.

Now, that leads to poor health, for one thing. And I have said before that health care is now being inadequately served by the county, for various reasons. They would have to go on welfare; then you have aid to families with dependent children, and that is not a liveable benefit. General assistance is not liveable.

Q: Two of the issues in the campaign that, as we understand you have been most critical of are both the county budget priorities and the county criminal justice system. What are your basic criticisms?

GEORGE: Yes, one thing about the whole situation is this: most of the money the county spends in the criminal justice system is after people have committed crimes and are caught up in the system. So, when you check, you will find that they spend a lot of money on the



BPINS photo

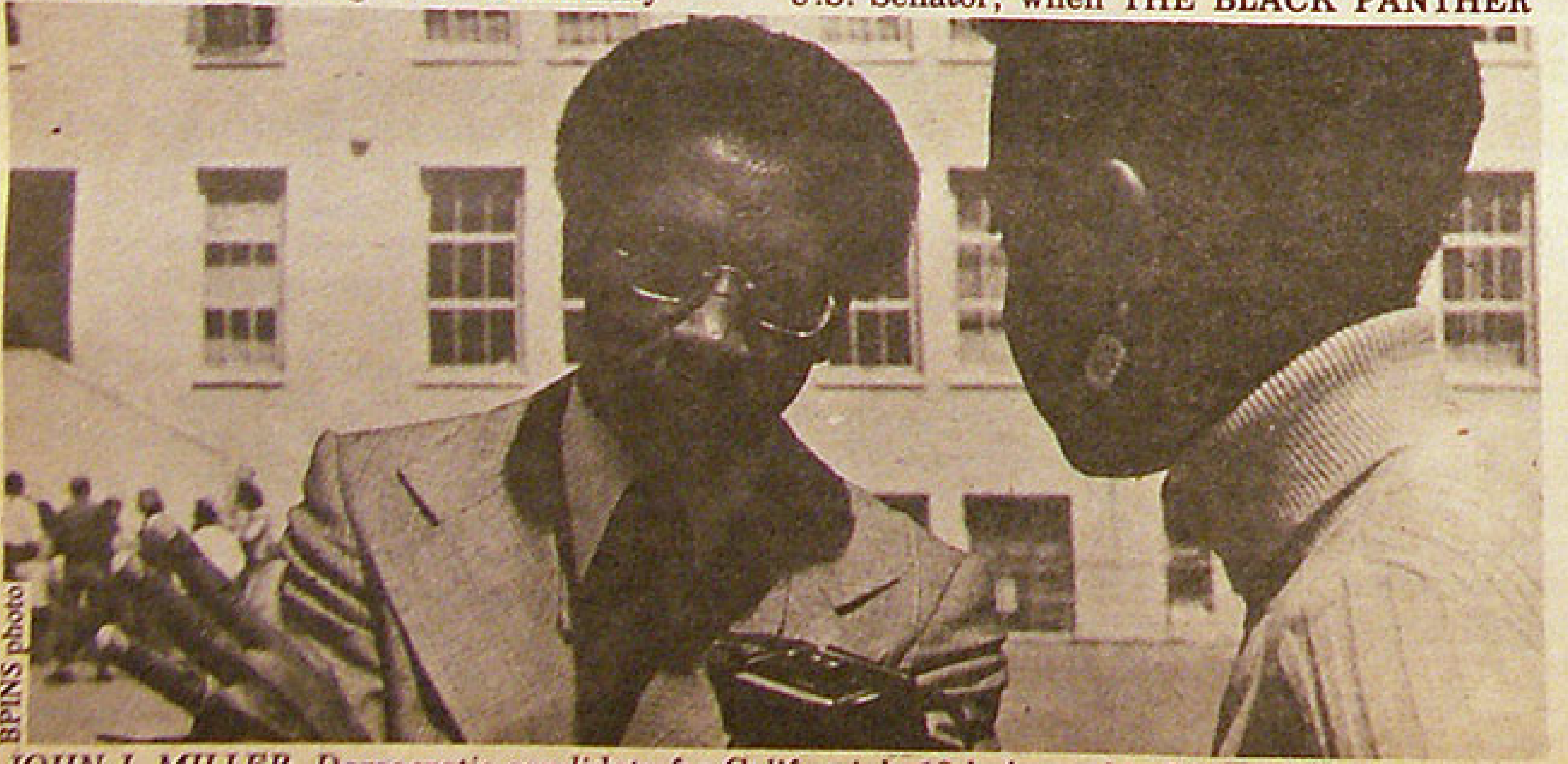
JOHN GEORGE is concerned about creating a[...] he is out "to do[...]

CANDIDATE FOR 13TH ASSEMBLY DISTRICT FIGHTS BERKELEY CONSERVATIVES

John Miller: "I'm For The People"

(Berkeley, Calif.) - For the past nine years, John J. Miller has ably represented the people of the 13th California Assembly District, encompassing Berkeley, Oakland, Emeryville, and Alameda. Initially encouraged in 1966 by friends and other concerned citizens — who wanted to insure that the 13th District would be represented in Sacramento by a man truly dedicated to serving the community — Assemblyman Miller is now seeking his fifth consecutive term in office.

Miller, a Democrat, was busily campaigning here last Saturday at a picnic/rally held at Longfellow Elementary School on behalf of himself, Congressman Ron Dellums, Alameda County Fifth District Supervisorial candidate John George, and Tom Hayden, candidate for U.S. Senator, when THE BLACK PANTHER talked with him about the current campaign and those issues he feels are most crucial to the people who live in the 13th Assembly District.



BPINS photo

JOHN J. MILLER, Democratic candidate for California's 13th Assembly District. The progressive legislator is seeking his fifth consecutive term.

Ironically, Miller's opponent in the upcoming June 8 primary is his former administrative assistant, Berkeley Mayor Warren Widener. The renegade Widener has come under heavy criticism from both the Black and the progressive White community of the district for opposing his former boss. Part of a liberal coalition of Blacks and Whites who origianlly swept into Berkeley city offices in 1970, Widener since then has distinguished himself as opportunist and turncoat, having formed unholy alliances with moderate/conservative forces firmly opposed to bettering the quality of life for Black and other poor people of Berkeley. (See the March 6, 13 and 20, 1976, issues of THE BLACK PANTHER.)

"I am for the people. I have an opponent who is not for the people," the 43-year-old Miller said in referring to Widener. "It is pretty clear that he (Widener) is supported by Republican doctors. His entire campaign (financial) reporting statement consists of nothing but doctors." Miller noted.

As an elected official committed to serving the people, Assemblyman Miller is naturally concerned about the problems that daily confront his constituents. One of the most

courts, on judges, on more bailiffs, and overtime for sheriff's deputies. Then you have more spent on the PDs (public defenders); you have more spent on the other end, after convictions, for probations. Not enough is being spent before people have to go through the criminal justice system. The courts are crowded because the cities are arresting people for some things that maybe they ought not be arresting them for, the "victimless crimes" and the drug-related crimes. Our society arrests people for being sick, they arrest alcoholics — they are sick — they ought not be in jail. People on drugs are sick; they should not be in jail. They should be in some facility but not jail.

O.K. all this money then is being wasted in trying to process the sick people through the criminal justice system. Now if you take the sick people out of the criminal justice system, then you can deal with the hard core criminals.



BPINS photo

As a lawyer and civil rights activist, JOHN GEORGE has gained the respect and trust of many in the East Bay.

I'm hard on pushers. I would be hard on pushers because they are serving the sick people and maybe they are inducing some of them to become sick. And I think that we ought to deal with the "big boys," the Mafia people who benefit by pushing some of the junk off into the ghetto areas, although they probably make their big money in the suburbs.

Q: Can the county of Alameda create jobs since unemployment is one of the problems you mentioned?

GEORGE: The county as an agency and as an employor can hire just so many. It hires nearly 9,000 now. It can create jobs, however. Just like any government it can create a climate for certain investments. The county can also take the lead in setting forth for this community cooperative ownership of businesses. Here is what I mean: instead of all of us working for smaller and smaller employers, I think poor people can be turned into employers themselves in neighborhood cooperative enterprises. Instead of it being "Mom and Pop," it would be neighborhood cooperatives.

Q: Do you think that is feasible?

GEORGE: I think it is feasible because we can have what I call "New towns in town." New towns in town would mean, we stop trying to build towns down in South County, in the eastern portion of the county. This part of the county is being drained, but at the same time, we are asked to subsidize the growth of the South County, in that we pay for the roads, we pay for the sewage and water and other utilities that they use. And we don't use that part of the county like the South County uses Oakland and Berkeley. They use it by traveling in their cars and causing us to repair our streets, and up our taxes.

WHAT THE COUNTY CAN DO

But to get back to what the county can do about jobs. The county receives certain revenue sharing money. Over the last two fiscal years they received $18.2 million in revenue sharing money. Some of that money could be used to finance an Alameda County Economic Development Commission. On that Commission you would have people from the city government; you would have private employers; you would have labor unions; you would have community people. We could locate jobs, identify jobs already in existence where people will be retiring. Some people then wouldn't need to be fired. This is also one way of job creation. We could come up with early retirement plans so people can move out and other people move in. In cooperation with the people I've just mentioned, we can start finding the existence of more jobs around here.

Q: Sometimes people are leery of creating new programs because they believe it would increase their taxes. Your programs and the suggestions that you are making will they increase the tax rates?

GEORGE: No. One thing you can do is shift money from certain projects to other projects. This county has thrown up its hands and confessed that it does not have any solutions to the unemployment problem, social problems, and therefore, it is saying we cannot help you. We will therefore build jails to jail you because we have no way of dealing with your problems. The county is spending what is going to be up to $88 million on new jail facilities, when you add in the finance cost for the interest rates on what it is going to have to borrow. When it does that, it has a tendency to up our property taxes.

TO BE CONTINUED



...er life for the young and old. He emphasizes that ...gs for the people."

serious problems in the district is that of unemployment. "Unemployment in this district is outrageous, fluctuating somewhere between 15 and 20 per cent. The majority of the workers who live in this district are Black, and since I am Black, this is in the forefront of my mind. I am trying to create jobs for the Black people whom I represent. I have put my foot into every possible door and will continue to do so," Assemblyman Miller emphasized.

During his previous terms, Miller has consistently backed legislation involving job training programs. He is impressed with the progressive position California Governor Jerry Brown has taken on this issue, and credits him with pushing through the Assembly badly needed labor legislation. Miller is part of an Assembly coalition composed of Blacks and Whites who, the Black attorney explains, have joined together to create legislation to improve working conditions for the poor.

Other legislation Assemblyman Miller has supported throughout his nine years in the Assembly includes:

•Hot lunch program for public school students;

•Protection of renters against unscrupulous landlords;

•"Lifeline" law to get gas and electricity for low-income citizens at a cost they can afford.

•Homeowner tax relief from soaring property tax increases.

•Improved nursing homes for senior citizens.

Assemblyman Miller is presently active in organizing Governor Brown's Presidential campaign in the 13th District, a task which keeps him very busy as he is campaigning for re-election and serving in the state Assembly. But the dedication he has to the people he serves and the programs that he believes in enable Assemblyman Miller to carry out these tasks with ease. His constituents clearly appreciate his efforts on their behalf as evidenced by the way they eagerly crowded around him at last week's Longfellow rally.

BORN IN GEORGIA

Born in Georgia and reared in New York, Miller has lived in California since 1958. He attended Talladega College in Alabama and holds a law degree from Howard University in Washington, D.C., and a Master of Law degree from the University of California, Berkeley. He and his wife, Joyce, who is as active in community and political affairs as her husband, have three children.

Assemblyman Miller has been endorsed by many prominent politicians and community organizations, including Governor Brown, Lt. Governor Mervyn Dymally, Congressman Dellums, state Senator Nicholas Petris, Assembly speaker Leo T. McCarthy, the Interdenominational Ministerial Alliance, the AFL-CIO and ILWU.

John J. Miller is an elected official who is for the people. RE-ELECT JOHN J. MILLER ASSEMBLYMAN, 13th DISTRICT, ON JUNE 8!□

THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY PROGRAM

MARCH 29, 1972 PLATFORM

WHAT WE WANT, WHAT WE BELIEVE

1. WE WANT FREEDOM. WE WANT POWER TO DETERMINE THE DESTINY OF OUR BLACK AND OPPRESSED COMMUNITIES.

We believe that Black and oppressed people will not be free until we are able to determine our destinies in our own communities ourselves, by fully controlling all the institutions which exist in our communities.

2. WE WANT FULL EMPLOYMENT FOR OUR PEOPLE.

We believe that the federal government is responsible and obligated to give every person employment or a guaranteed income. We believe that if the American businessmen will not give full employment, then the technology and means of production should be taken from the businessmen and placed in the community so that the people of the community can organize and employ all of its people and give a high standard of living.

3. WE WANT AN END TO THE ROBBERY BY THE CAPITALIST OF OUR BLACK AND OPPRESSED COMMUNITIES.

We believe that this racist government has robbed us and now we are demanding the overdue debt of forty acres and two mules. Forty acres and two mules were promised 100 years ago as restitution for slave labor and mass murder of Black people. We will accept the payment in currency which will be distributed to our many communities. The American racist has taken part in the slaughter of over fifty million Black people. Therefore, we feel this is a modest demand that we make.

4. WE WANT DECENT HOUSING, FIT FOR THE SHELTER OF HUMAN BEINGS.

We believe that if the landlords will not give decent housing to our Black and oppressed communities, then the housing and the land should be made into cooperatives so that the people in our communities, with government aid, can build and make decent housing for the people.

5. WE WANT EDUCATION FOR OUR PEOPLE THAT EXPOSES THE TRUE NATURE OF THIS DECADENT AMERICAN SOCIETY. WE WANT EDUCATION THAT TEACHES US OUR TRUE HISTORY AND OUR ROLE IN THE PRESENT-DAY SOCIETY.

We believe in an educational system that will give to our people a knowledge of self. If you do not have knowledge of yourself and your position in the society and the world, then you will have little chance to know anything else.

6. WE WANT COMPLETELY FREE HEALTH CARE FOR ALL BLACK AND OPPRESSED PEOPLE.

We believe that the government must provide, free of charge, for the people, health facilities which will not only treat our illnesses, most of which have come about as a result of our oppression, but which will also develop preventative medical programs to guarantee our future survival. We believe that mass health education and research programs must be developed to give all Black and oppressed people access to advanced scientific and medical information, so we may provide ourselves with proper medical attention and care.

7. WE WANT AN IMMEDIATE END TO POLICE BRUTALITY AND MURDER OF BLACK PEOPLE, OTHER PEOPLE OF COLOR, ALL OPPRESSED PEOPLE INSIDE THE UNITED STATES.

We believe that the racist and fascist government of the United States uses its domestic enforcement agencies to carry out its program of oppression against Black people, other people of color and poor people inside the United States. We believe it is our right, therefore, to defend ourselves against such armed forces and that all Black and oppressed people should be armed for self-defense of our homes and communities against these fascist police forces.

8. WE WANT AN IMMEDIATE END TO ALL WARS OF AGGRESSION.

We believe that the various conflicts which exist around the world stem directly from the aggressive desires of the U.S. ruling circle and government to force its domination upon the oppressed people of the world. We believe that if the U.S. government or its lackeys do not cease these aggressive wars that it is the right of the people to defend themselves by any means necessary against their aggressors.

9. WE WANT FREEDOM FOR ALL BLACK AND POOR OPPRESSED PEOPLE NOW HELD IN U.S. FEDERAL, STATE, COUNTY, CITY AND MILITARY PRISONS AND JAILS. WE WANT TRIALS BY A JURY OF PEERS FOR ALL PERSONS CHARGED WITH SO-CALLED CRIMES UNDER THE LAWS OF THIS COUNTRY.

We believe that the many Black and poor oppressed people now held in U.S. prisons and jails have not received fair and impartial trials under a racist and fascist judicial system and should be free from incarceration. We believe in the ultimate elimination of all wretched, inhuman penal insitutions, because the masses of men and women imprisoned inside the United States or by the U.S. military are the victims of oppressive conditions which are the real cause of their imprisonment. We believe that when persons are brought to trial that they must be guaranteed, by the United States, juries of their peers, attorneys of their choice and freedom from imprisonment while awaiting trials.

10. WE WANT LAND, BREAD, HOUSING, EDUCATION, CLOTHING, JUSTICE, PEACE AND PEOPLE'S COMMUNITY CONTROL OF MODERN TECHNOLOGY.

When, in the course of human events, it becomes necessary for one people to dissolve the political bands which have connected them with another, and to assume, among the powers of the earth, the separate and equal station to which the laws of nature and nature's God entitle them, a decent respect to the opinions of mankind requires that they should declare the causes which impel them to the separation.

We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. That, to secure these rights, governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed; that, whenever any form of government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the right of the people to alter or to abolish it, and to institute a new government, laying its foundation on such principles, and organizing its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness. Prudence, indeed, will dictate that governments long established should not be changed for light and transient causes; and, accordingly, all experience hath shown that mankind are more disposed to suffer, while evils are sufferable, than to right themselves by abolishing the forms to which they are accustomed. But, when a long train of abuses and usurpations, pursuing invariably the same object, evinces a design to reduce them under absolute despotism, it is their right, it is their duty, to throw off such government, and to provide new guards for their future security.

Intercommunal News



African laborer cuts sisal whose fibers are used in rope-making. Third World countries are stepping up their demands for economic equality with the West.

U.S. Resists 3rd World Demands At U.N. Trade Talks

(Nairobi, Kenya) - The recent United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD) held here earlier this month emphasized that despite 12 years of discussions and meetings, the Western industrialized nations of the world, led by the United States, are still resisting Third World demands to achieve equality in their trade relations with the West.

This resistance was best exemplified in the remarks of U.S. Secretary of State Henry Kissinger at the opening session of the Fouth Annual UNCTAD Conference:

"The United States better than almost any other nation could survive a period of economic warfare. We can resist confrontation and rhetorical attacks if other nations choose that path. And we can ignore unrealistic proposals and peremptory demands."

Over the years the major concerns of the developing nations have been commodities, technology, debt and other special problems of the poorest countries. In the area of commodities, the basic issue is that 17 key agricultural and mineral commodities make up 80 per cent of the exports of the developing nations. Because the prices of these goods rise and fall frequently and are largely determined by the buyers — the rich

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FRELIMO Leader Samora Machel Interviewed

MOZAMBICAN REVOLUTION SEEKS "ESTABLISHMENT OF LOVE BETWEEN PEOPLE"

Discussing a wide range of topics — from the latest developments in the Mozambican revolution to the Black liberation struggle in Rhodesia — Mozambican President Samora Moises Machel provides an insightful analysis of events in southern Africa in the following interview reprinted from People's Translation Service.



FRELIMO leader and Mozambican President SAMORA MACHEL (right foreground) talks to admiring tribeswomen.

PART 1

Q: On what forces do you depend to govern Mozambique and what resistance have your actions come up against?

MACHEL: The strength of the revolutionary process depends, as we have always emphasized, on the alliance between workers and peasants. It is a broad front of all workers who either directly, or indirectly as in the scientific field or service sector, produce material goods and do not possess anything. Facing this front there is no "national bourgeoisie." We have an "interior" bourgeoisie, which is for the most part made up of a "colonial" bourgeoisie.

The colonial bourgeoisie has accumulated great wealth through brutal exploitation and the repressive system. It derives its existence from the colonial war, from the PIDE (Portuguese political police) and from massacres. With the fall of the colonial system came the fall of the colonial bourgeoisie. Discredited by its past, the majority of it has left the country and attempted to leave its property in the hands of managers.

"The petty and middle Mozambican bourgeoisie, 30,000 people at the most, is a very recent creation. It came into existence when Caetano (dictator of Portugal until 1974) recognized that the Portuguese were losing the colonial war and attempted to mix some Africans in with the colonial bourgeoisie. He distributed crumbs to them, such as the possibility of buying small houses. At the very best they were destined to become "evolved" Africans, because they could become only intermediaries: if they had been formed as a national bourgeoisie they would have become adversaries and competitors of the fascist colonial bourgeoisie which was ruling at the time.

At this time, only two forces existed: FRELIMO and colonialism. In attempting to create a third force, Caetano was sure he would create an adversary to FRELIMO, to whom he hoped to turn over power.

In its essence, therefore, the Mozambican bourgeoisie has no economic power. It did not even have a chance to own the slightest agricultural or industrial enterprise. It is a bourgeoisie only in as much as it desired to take over from the boss. It admires the colonizers' culture, not realizing that we have our own. It is therefore a bourgeoisie without an identity, and in these conditions, I do not see how it can put up a resistance.

Q: The struggle against the bourgeoisie is therefore ideological above all?

MACHEL: Yes!

Q: Do you still establish a difference between the old liberated zones and the zones under Portuguese domination, between the cities and the countryside?

MACHEL: The liberated zones were liberated from colonial exploitation; but also from superstition and the alienation of men to supernatural forces. For us the main quality of the revolution is the profound transformation of society, of the way of thinking, the establishment of love between people by two essential means: the predominance of collective values and the freeing of creative initiative. We must bring these revolutionary con-

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Z.A.N.U. LEADS ARMED STRUGGLE FOR SOCIALIST REVOLUTION IN RHODESIA (ZIMBABWE)

The Zimbabwean African National Union (ZANU) is the vanguard Black revolutionary organization in Rhodesia, and as such, has led the armed struggle against the breakaway White settler regime of "Prime Minister" Ian Smith since 1966. With the recent intensification of the armed struggle in Rhodesia, freedom loving people around the world are increasingly seeking information about ZANU. The following article, reprinted from The Zimbabwe News *— the official organ of ZANU — offers a comprehensive understanding of ZANU.*

Q: What is the Zimbabwe African National Union (ZANU)?

A: ZANU is the national liberation movement that is spearheading the national democratic revolution in Zimbabwe.



Zimbabwean guerrillas map out battle strategies against Ian Smith regime.

Q: When was ZANU formed?

A: ZANU was formed by the people of Zimbabwe out of the realization that the independence of Zimbabwe would not come out of constitutional conferences, but through "Direct Confrontation" by our own efforts. It was also formed to further *Chimurenga* (war of national liberation) started by our forefathers in 1890.

Q: What is ZANU's ideology?

A: ZANU is guided by the principles of Marxism-Leninism. It aims at achieving a socialist revolution. However, before the achievement of such a socialist revolution, a transitorial stage of national democratic revolution is necessary. The national democratic revolution is the necessary preparation for the socialist revolution, and the socialist revolution is the inevitable sequel to the national democratic revolution. The deeper the national democratic revolution, the better the conditions for the socialist revolution.

Q: What are ZANU's political objectives?

A: The main political objectives of ZANU are to create a free democratic independent and socialist Zimbabwe and to remove the political domination of the foreign element in our society and its imperialistic and capitalistic tentacles. Our goal is true national independence and socialistic reconstruction of the motherland.

Q: What are ZANU's economic objectives?

A: The main economic objectives of ZANU are to create a self-supporting socialist economy in which all the means of production and distribution will be fully in the hands of the people of Zimbabwe as a whole. The present capitalist economic system which benefits a few settlers in Rhodesia and other foreign countries like South Africa, Britain, United States, West Germany, etc., will be abolished.

Q: What is ZANU's land policy?

A: ZANU's land policy is that all the natural resources of Zimbabwe — land, minerals, water, and flora and fauna — belong to all citizens of Zimbabwe today and forever afterwards; and therefore there can be no private ownership of land and natural resources as they belong to the people as a whole. The state shall hold the land as administrator and trustee for the present and future generations. Landlordism and state farms owned by capitalists will be abolished.

Q: What is ZANU's education policy?

A: ZANU will introduce compulsory education for all school-eligible ages. It will also introduce adult education and will provide enough technical and vocational schools with a view to giving all workers and peasants opportunities to improve their skills.

Q: What is ZANU's policy on culture?

A: Imperialists practice cultural aggression through the stage, screen, mass media, literature school and the church. Through these they have created a false impression that their culture is good and ours is bad. Consequently, our rich cultural heritage has been lost. In a free, democra-

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AFRICA IN FOCUS

MOZAMBIQUE

The United Nations Economic and Social Council has called on all U.N. members to provide generous assistance to the People's Republic of Mozambique in order to help the Republic survive the great cost arising from the economic sanctions it imposed against the White minority regime of Rhodesia in March of this year. The action of the Council came after its review of a report prepared by a special mission, headed by Assistant U.N. Secretary-General Abdulrahim Abby Farah, which looked into Mozambique's economic problems.

SUDAN

The first Sudanese National Health Conference held recently in the capital city of Khartoum formulated a six-year plan for health development, *Hsinhua* news agency reports. The plan stresses an increase of medical services in rural areas, prevention against diseases and manufacturing of the Sudan's own medicines. Addressing the opening session of the conference, Sudanese President Gaafar Mohamed Nimeri emphasized the need for environmental sanitation and preventive efforts in medical work.

BURUNDI

Burundi President Michel Micombero has declared his country's resolute support for the just struggle of Third World people for self-determination and the establishment of a new international economic order. Speaking at a banquet he gave earlier this month in honor of visiting U.N. Secretary-General Kurt Waldheim in Bunjumbura, President Micombero also said that Burundi fully encourages the Zimbabwean (Rhodesian) armed liberation struggle and called for the withdrawal of Israeli Zionists from the occupied Arab lands.

GHANA/GUINEA

The governments of Ghana and Guinea have ratified an instrument setting up the Ghana-Guinea Permanent Commission for Cooperation which was originally established five months ago, *Hsinhua* reports. The instrument, signed by Ghanaian Foreign Minister R.J. Felli and Guinean Minister of Pre-University Education Galema Guilavogui, provides that the two countries will cooperate in trade, economic, financial and agricultural matters.

ISRAELI TROOPS MURDER 3 WEST BANK PALESTINIAN YOUTH

(Jerusalem, Israel) - Israeli soldiers and police killed three Palestinian youth in three days last week, bring the Arab death toll to 10 since heavy demonstrations against Israeli occupation of the West Bank of the Jordan began four months ago.

Israeli border police opened fire on a group of Arab demonstrators in the old walled city of Jerusalem last week, firing randomly into the crowd with submachine gun bursts.The demonstrators were protesting the murder of a West Bank teenage girl just the day before by an Israeli soldier.

Seventeen-year-old Lena Hassan Nabulsi, the daughter of a prominent Nablus merchant, was on the stairway of an apartment building of a friend when she was killed. She had previously participated in various protests against the Israelis but she was merely visiting her friend when a Zionist soldier discharged a round from his rifle, which he had pointed directly at her for no apparent reason.

DEMONSTRATORS

When Palestinian demonstrators and bystanders protested the killing, the Israelis responded by threatening and shooting at the crowd, wounding two more teenagers. For this and other atrocities committed against the Palestinian people, a conservative Israeli newspaper stated arrogantly, "There is no cause for pangs of conscience in Israel."

Demonstrations in the Israeli-occupied West Bank have steadily intensified over the past four months, and the sentiments of Palestinians in the occupied areas and in Israel itself were revealed on April 12 when nationalist and pro-Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) candidates swept into office following landslide election victories. This political upset dealt a serious blow to the image of Israel which had attempted to dupe world opinion by designating Arab puppets to administrate the Arab population of the West Bank and Israel, while the true representatives of the Palestinian people were ruthlessly suppressed, according to a *Guardian* report.

This election also marked the first time that Arab women were allowed to participate in the political process.

However, despite mounting protests and adverse world opinion, Israel is making no attempts to conceal its intentions of creating more settlements in illegally occupied Arab territories. According to a *New York Times* report, the Zionist government is drawing up plans to establish a large number of new settlements over the next several years.





Arab youth raise PLO flag (above) after funeral of young Arab man killed by Israeli police (right), who continue to terrorize Palestinians in the occupied West Bank.

The settlements, ranging from small agricultural villages to industrial towns, are to be located in occupied areas of the Golan Heights, the Jordan Valley, the West Bank and the Gaza Strip. Each new settlement will have to have governmental approval but, this is merely a formality.

A settlement of right-wing Zionists in the West Bank has been condemned by progressive Israelis and the Israeli government has issued orders for the camp to be closed. However, the Israeli settlers have ignored the order, knowing that their forced removal could create a serious crisis in the Israeli government.

Meanwhile, the U.N. Security Council is continuing its debate on Egypt's complaint about the treatment of Arabs in occupied territories. Speaking for the People's Republic of China, Lai Ya-li urged the Council to strongly condemn Israeli atrocities and expressed support for the "just struggle of the Arab people in the occupied territories."

ZIONIST PLAN

Ahmed Esmat Abdel Meguid of Egypt described a Zionist plan calling for new settlements a "dangerous and provocative" course while Abdalla Yaccoub Bishara of oil-rich Kuwait reminded the Council that "time would not erode the dauntless spirit of Palestinian resistance."

E.F.N.L.A. PRESS CONFERENCE

Ethiopian "Massacre" Of Eritrean People Condemned

(Berkeley, Calif.) - Charging that "the fascist military regime of Ethiopia" is about to launch "a well planned massacre of the people of Eritrea," the San Francisco Bay Area Chapter of Eritreans for Liberation in North America (EFLNA) last week called on the peace-loving people of the U.S. to pressure the American government to stop resupplying the Ethiopian regime with the arms used to "slaughter Eritreans like cattle."

At a press conference held at the "W" House on the University of California campus here on May 19, Bay Area EFLNA representatives Araia Tsegga, Daniel Mesfun and Ghide Gphrem provided information on the little known 15-year Eritrean war of liberation from Ethiopian colonialism as well as an explanation of the impending massive Ethiopian offensive against the Eritrean Popular Liberation Forces (EPLF). (See last week's issue of THE BLACK PANTHER.)

NEWS REPORTS

The EFLNA press conference came amidst news reports that the EPLF had blown up a bridge in Tigre Province, leaving at least 170 trucks with 3,500 peasants stranded. Several Western diplomats said that the number of stranded peasants was far higher than the 3,500 reported and that as many as five bridges had been destroyed by the EPLF.

An EFLNA press statement read by Tsegga said, in part:

"On the pretext of fighting the Eritrean freedom fighters the military government of Ethiopia (whose 40,000 troops in Eritrea are totally incapacitated) is trying to use a 'human-wave' formation-type invasion by Ethiopian peasant-warriors to look, kill, and in accordance with the Ethiopian government orders, to take any Eritrean land they can get their hands on.

"The real victims of this genocidal campaign are going to be not the heroic, well-trained and well-armed Eritrean fighters but the innocent unarmed civilians. The untrained Ethiopian peasants are being told that a foreign Arab country is invading Ethiopia and that this is a holy war against Islam and their job

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3rd World Demands At U.N. Trade Talks

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nations — Third World countries are often the victims of the wheeling and dealing of the buyers who play off one producer country against another.

Thus, the result often is that developing nations are forced to sell their products cheap and pay outrageously high prices for the products of the West.

Last February, the Group of 77, an organization of 111 developing nations, held a meeting in Manila, capital of the Philippines, and created a program on commodities designed to resolve the problems in this area.

First, the Group of 77 proposed that a three billion dollar fund be created to finance the purchase of commodities from producing countries when prices are low — the stockpiles to be held for final sale when prices rise.

The second Manila proposal, the *Guardian* reported, was to use indexing to fight inflation by combining two prices so they move in the same direction. The price of manufactured imports and commodity exports would be indexed in order to maintain the purchasing power of the commodity-producing country.

For example, in a copper-producing country indexing would provide that as copper prices went down, so would the prices the producing country paid for manufactured imports.

The U.S. claims that such a common fund as that proposed at the Manila meeting is unworkable. According to *The New York Times*, the major reason the White House opposes this approach is the fear that control of the fund would fall into the hands of the more progressive Thrid World countries, whom, the U.S. alleges, would seek to manipulate the fund for political ends.

Concerning the technology, the developing nations point out that the industrialized nations control not only the marketing but also the vital processes and information needed for economic development. A proposal put forth by the Group of 77 that they be given unrestricted access to existing technology — regardless of who owns it — was categorically rejected by Kissinger.

ENERGY INSTITUTE

Instead, Kissinger called for the creation of an International Industrialization Institute and an Energy Institute to study the application of technology to developing nations.

Due to the steadily growing gap between prices for commodity exports and manufactured goods, Third World countries increasingly find themselves in debt to the West. The Group of 77's remedy for this problem is to reschedule debts and, in some cases, cancel them entirely. Opposed to such sweeping



African woman displays effects of economic inequality as she performs manual labor.

measures, the U.S. and other Western nations advocate a case-by-case review of debts.

In response to a common problem — that of Western capitalist countries withdrawing their investments from those Third World countries which seek to nationalize multinational corporations, thereby cutting down on their profits — Third World countries have demanded that discriminatory tariffs imposed against them by the West be eliminated.

Kissinger, on the other hand proposed the establishment of an International Resources Bank (IRB) which would guarantee the performance of the developing country — that is, no nationalization — by setting up three-way agreements with the producing country and the private banker. The agreement would specify conditions of investment, Kissinger said, "consistent with internationally accepted standards of equity." □

WORLD SCOPE

Israel

The World Health Organization (WHO) Assembly last week condemned Israel for failing to receive an Assembly-appointed committee to survey health conditions in the Israeli-occupied Arab territories. The resolution threatened to suspend Israel's voting rights and other privileges if it continues to refuse to receive the committee as such. Supporters of the resolution maintain it was inspired solely by concern for the health of the Arab populations in the territories occupied by Israel since the 1967 war. It was adopted by a vote of 57-16 with 16 abstentions.

China

Traffic lights, tractors and trucks, virtually nonexistent in some rural communes of the People's Republic of China — led by Chairman Mao Tse-tung — until recently, are now visible symbols of the country's successful drive to mechanize its agriculture in the next five years. Evidence of the success of the agricultural drive — part of a broader agricultural modernization program begun last fall — is the Hsinhua commune, whose workers doubled last year's efforts this winter by building ditches, dams and laying manure in preparation for planting crops this spring.

Chile

The Chile Solidarity Committee, an organization based in British Columbia which opposes the Chilean military junta led by Augusto Pinochet, is organizing a mass demonstration for June 5 at the United Nations Conference on Human Settlement — which will convene in Vancouver, British Columbia, May 27 to June 12.

The Committee, which will sponsor a number of films and workshops during the two-week conference, urges sympathizers of the former Allende government to participate in the demonstration to show the world that the junta has no support internationally and to help bring pressure both within and outside of Chile to bring the U.S.-backed junta to its knees.

ENTERTAINMENT

BAY AREA GROUP STRUGGLES FOR RECOGNITION

Scheduled For O.C.L.C. Appearance, May 30

(Oakland, Calif.) - The Bay Area singing group, The Variations, has just returned from a very successful and extensive tour of South America and Europe, but back home they are having a very hard time getting airplay for their records.

The group is very well known in the Bay Area for their hit recording, "Saying It and Doing It," which rose to number three on local radio charts in August, 1974. Also, in July, 1974, The Variations performed at the Oakland Community Learning Center and dazzled an overflow audience with their fast-stepping show and the singing ability of Samaki Bennett.

After performing in local clubs for a short period of time, the group, led by Lee Variety, left the country for a tour of Europe, later travelling to South America with an additional stop in the Caribbean. Everywhere they went on the tour, The Variations received good reviews as well as favorable responses from their audiences.



The Bay Area's VARIATIONS are back from an extensive tour of Europe, Latin America and the Caribbean and will be at the Oakland Community Learning Center Community Forum this Sunday, May 30, at 4:00 p.m.

In the near future they are scheduled to go on tour again, this time to Africa with return trips to South America and the Caribbean.

While back in the Bay Area, The Variations have recorded a new album, *Help the Poor*, and are now in the process of having it distributed themselves. They are struggling to remain independent, that is , they have refused to sign a contract with any major recording label.

For this particular album, the team of Lee Variety and Samaki Bennett has written and arranged all of the songs on the album and the group has handled all major aspects of the production and distribution of this record.

ROAD MANAGER

But, says road manager Bill Johnson, because of the way the recording industry works, in order for them to sell records, the Variations have to get some radio play.

"When we go to radio stations with our records," says Johnson, "they say they cannot play them because they are not commercial enough or we weren't on the major trade charts.

"But the real reason they won't play our records is that we are not on any major (recording) label," Johnson emphasized.

He went so far as to say that "local talents are destroyed if they do not sign with the big recording companies." The Variations have performed with such groups as the Dramatics, Stylistics, Curtis Mayfield and James Brown, but they are still struggling very hard for recognition.

The Variations' new album, *Help the Poor*, features the title song along with other original tunes, among them such standouts as "A Women's Blues," "Ticket on the Ark," and the hit, "Saying It and Doing It."□

U.S. Justice Department Harasses Tricontinental Films

(New York, N.Y.) - The Tricontinental Films Center, a New York-based company which distributes progressive films produced in Latin America, Asia and Africa, has been notified by the U.S. Department of Justice that it must register as a foreign agent.

The Justice Department, which bases this action on an old Foreign Agents Act of 1938, claims that Tricontinental Films engages in "political activities in the interests of foreign principals", and is forcing the Center to label the films in its catalog foreign political propaganda."

Close observers say the Justice Department's harassment is an obvious attempt to halt the work of the Tricontinental Film Center which distributes films that enable North Americans to see the life and struggles of oppressed Third World people.

Tactical Black Unity

I sit at my desk
with my hands on my face,
searching deep within
the knowledge I possess.
My mind begins to carry
a two-fold battle,
one against fear
and the other
the battle for a tactic
to free my people.
Then she
comes to me
to offer her
help.
Silently. I think
of the tactic
whose death
I fear most of all.
I turn to her
and notice the
fullness of her
dress, as the
unborn life fills
with soul
of a people
kept hostage
for 400 years.

She embraces me
and I feel the warmth
and soul of it.
Within the African gown
she wears
is the absolute
in beauty.
Her hair shining out
like a black sun,
hair like the unborn
child
within her,
strong and curled tight,
not to be straightened
by the heat of the
opprression phenomenon.
I then touch her soft hands
and she too squeezed it.
we have become united
and what shall emerge is the
United soul. . .
Perhaps the tactic.

—Gene Howell
Holloman AFB
New Mexico

Sterilization Abuse

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 5

U.S. government policy not only for inside the U.S but for countries under its control all over the world. The health services are instruments of social policy and it is in the health services where the evidence of sterilization abuse is rampant."

Joining Ms. Mergal in providing little known facts about sterilization abuse in the U.S. and Puerto Rico was Ms. Rahemah Amun, a representative of Bay Area CESA. Ms. Amun began by defining female sterilization — a process which may involve tubal ligation, the tying of the Fallopian tubes so as to prevent pregnancy, or a hysterectomy, the removal of the uterus.

Ms. Amun noted that over one-third (35 per cent) of Puerto Rican women of childbearing age were sterilized by 1968 and that by 1970, 20 per cent of all married Black women in the U.S. had been sterilized.

In Colombia, 40,000 women were sterilized between 1963-65 by programs funded by the Rockefeller dynasty. The women were persuaded by gifts of lipstick and artificial pearls and small payments of money.

DECEIVED

Black and Third World women are often deceived into signing sterilization consent forms by being told that the operation is reversible. *Sterilization is permanent. A woman who is sterilized can never become pregnant again.*

Describing her own case history, Rahemah gave a clear cut example of how racist hospitals and doctors perpetrate genocide against Black and other Third World women by arbitrarily recommending sterilization for no reason at all. Rahemah, who is Black, developed fibroid (non-cancerous) tumors in her uterus. When she consulted a doctor about the problem, he immediately recommended that she be sterilized despite the fact that fibroid tumors are not dangerous and are common among Black women in her age group.

Upset by this first diagnosis, Rahemah consulted another doctor who felt that the birth control pills she was taking were the cause of the fibroid tumors. "He suggested that I stop taking the pills so that the tumors would go away," Rahemah said. She did so and eventually resolved her problem.

A large portion of Third World women in America are threatened with losing their welfare if they refuse to be sterilized while many teens, diagnosed as "promiscuous" or "mentally ill" are told they don't deserve to have children, Rahemah said. "The excuse is given that Third World people don't have the intelligence to use birth control methods," she added.



Puerto Rican barrio in New York City. Over 35 per cent of the women in Puerto Rico have been sterilized by U.S. government programs.

In her remarks, Ms. Mergal emphasized that there is a difference betweeen population control — genocide — and birth control. "It's more efficient to kill the revolutionary before he's born," she noted. She explained that in Puerto Rico a small national bourgeoisie is conspiring with U.S. imperialism to control the population. Since women are a vital part of the economy in Puerto Rico, it is in the interests of American capitalists to promote population control so that they may continue to make profits from their exploitation and the rich natural resources of Puerto Rico.

Both Margarita and Rahemah emphasized that population control programs are largely funded by HEW and the U.S. State Department's Agency for International Development (AID). AID, it was stated, spends more in Puerto Rico and other Third World countries on population control than it does on rural and agricultural development. Here in the U.S., HEW has reduced already scarce funds for childcare and community health programs, yet has increased funding for its "family planning" programs from $51 to $250 million in the past five years.

Margarita also discussed the myth that overpopulation causes poverty, an argument falsely used by various U.S. agencies to persuade Third World women that they should be sterilized. Population density is less in Latin America than it is in Europe, Margarita said, but European women are not subjected to population control propaganda on anywhere near the scale that they are in Third World countries.

"The women of Puerto Rico are colonized mentally and physically," Margarita said. She urged that there be an interchange of male and female roles and that responsibility for birth control be shared between both men and women.

Touching on the struggle of the Puerto Rican people to win independence from U.S. colonialism, Margarita said that the independence movement in her country has "grown tremendously" so that it has become "very dangerous to imperialism." The consciousness of the people is being raised but at the same time, repression by the U.S. has intensified significantly. □

INSIDE LATIN AMERICA

Brazil

There is another side to the story of Brazil's model of surging economic development which is much touted by Brazil's dictatorship, *Granma*, the progressive Cuban daily, reports. An investigating commission from the Brazilian Chambers of Deputies has reported that more than 15 million children live in absolute social marginality. The report acknowledges that this will soon lead to serious social problems.

Brazil is the South American country which spends the least on education. This fact is reflected in Brazil's high illiteracy rate. In 1968, educational expenditures constituted only 7.7 per cent of the budget. In 1975, this figure dropped to just under 3.5 per cent. An estimated 30 million Brazilians are illiterate. More than four million children between the ages of seven and 14 — that is 25 per cent of the children of school age — never go to school.

This lack of education seems to reflect an increase in crimes committed by youth. In 1975, according to official data, 111,812 crimes in Brazil were committed by juveniles.

Brazil's social problems are compounded by a health and medical care system which is sorely deficient. Between 1967 and 1970, there was a 30 per cent drop in governmental expenditures on public health.

Malnutrition is the cause for half the deaths of Brazilian children in the one to four-year-old age group. Benjamin Alballiz, chairperson of the Brazilian Association for the Education of Children, acknowledged that 70 per cent of the children drop out of school, one major cause being malnutrition.

Panama

The Panamanian Canal is a "focal point of anti-U.S. sentiment in Latin America," commented Dr. John Wirth, director of Stanford University's Latin American Center. Continuing, Dr. Wirth said, "It unites almost everybody from the extreme right to Castro." Wirth told the *San Francisco Examiner* last week that Presidential hopeful "Ronald Reagan's (who threatens guerrilla war to keep the Canal) claim of U.S. sovereignity over the Canal is just wrong."

MARTIAL ARTS

Hitting

Hitting does not mean pushing True hitting may be likened to the snap of a whip — all the energy is slowly concentrated and then suddenly released with a rapid outpouring of force. Pushing is exactly the opposite, with the concentrated force at the start of the blow and a subsequent loss of power as the arm moves away from the body.

In hitting, the feet are always directly under the body. In pushing, the body is often off balance as the force of the blow does not come from a rapid pivot (a turning of the waist and its supports), but only from a push off of the rear foot (accomplished by slowly straightening the rear or both legs).

Power in hitting or kicking or throwing (any ballistics type movement) comes from a quick twist of the waist, not a swinging, swaying movement, but a pivot over the straight lead leg. As long as this straight line is maintained, as long as the hips are relaxed and free to swing and the shoulders are not tensed unnecessarily but are turned through to the center line of the body before the arms are extended, power will be achieved with a minimum of effort.

Once the straight line of the lead side of the body is interrupted, power is lost because the straight lead side of the body is the anchor, the pivot point, the hinge from which force is generated to its greatest degree.

It is quite possible for a smaller, lighter person to develop more force in a throw, punch or a kick due to the speed that the hip pivots and pushes the arm or leg forward towards its target. A smaller person will produce a greater impact or throw an object a greater distance if he or she can develop the ability to pivot, letting the limbs of the body do their work.

The pivoting of the body must be accompanied by proper sequence of action by each part of the body involved. The movement needed in hitting must develop uniformly from the point of the rear foot pushing against the ground, the leading of body weight over to the lead leg, and the relaxed, uninhibited "floating" of the limbs themselves.

"GET THAT NIGGER OFF THE FIELD"

By Art Rust, Jr.

The following sports feature is excerpted from a book entitled Get That Nigger Off the Field, *written by Art Rust, Jr., a sportscaster who grew up in Harlem in the period when Black ballplayers were excluded from playing in the big leagues. Rust himself had aspirations of becoming a major league baseball player but, as we shall see, the game's cruel and vicious bigotry forced him to abandon his childhood dream. The following excerpt is reprinted from* The New York Times.





Black baseball players had to endure countless abuses and racial taunts while playing in the major leagues. Others, like the all-time great JOSH GIBSON were never allowed to play in the "big leagues."

(New York, N.Y.) - Every time I walk down St. Nicholas Avenue between 145th and 141st Streets, where I lived, the memories keep jumping out at me. The stickball games, the Black Joe DiMaggios, the Black Mel Otts, the Black Harry Dannings; the great Mel Allen and Red Barber broadcasts of the Yankee and Dodgers games; running up to the newsstand every Friday afternoon to get the *Sporting News*, at that time an all-baseball publication.

It was the ambition and desire of all of us to play major league baseball. I'm certain some of us could have made it. If that stretch of St. Nicholas Avenue (then called Sugar Hill) could talk, it would sum it all up for me and the rest of the Black kids on the block.

GENERAL IMPRESSION

I remember my general impression when I attended the Negro National League games at Yankee Stadium and the Polo Grounds. It was more like a carnival: Blacks eating chicken, drinking heavily, women overdressed, everybody raunchy as hell.

Typical Negro League behavior? No, not really. I saw Whites behaving the same way at their ball games.

As a Black youngster I would say to myself, "Josh Gibson is just as good, if not superior to Yankee Bill Dickey . . .Satch Paige is just as good as the Yankee Red Ruffing. Why can't they play in the big leagues?"

Baseball was my life. At one time I wanted to be a major league ballplayer, but I was Black, and playing in the Negro National League just did not appeal to me.

As a young Black, idolizing White ballplayers, I readily recall many indignities in the Polo Grounds and Yankee Stadium.

At Yankee Stadium, in 1939, while leaning over the bleacher wall in right field with other youngsters seeking autographs, a Washington Senator outfielder, Taft Wright, called me "Black son of a bitch" when I put my scorecard in front of his face.

At the Polo Grounds I was called "Black bastard" by a St. Louis Cardinal left-hander, Clyde Shoun, when I was trying to get his autograph. My head was rubbed for good luck by a right-hander, Fiddler Bill McGee, as he walked out of the clubhouse past the bleachers. These humiliations really shook up this 11-year-old.

In 1939, I had a baseball scrapbook filled with pictures of lily-White baseball players. I had photos of every Cardinal player from 1939 to 1942.

I'll never forget Enos (Country) Slaughter signing a picture for me and walking down Eighth Avenue muttering, "How did that little nigger get all those pictures?" I said to myself, "With all those crackers, ain't no way a Black guy's gonna play ball in the majors."

There was no secret why the Black leagues started and why they endured. They started because White players threatened to quit rather than share the diamond with Black men. In the late 19th century, before every Black man had been forced out of organized baseball, Negro infielders wore shin guards because white opponents would try to spike them at every opportunity. Pitchers aimed at their heads, and club owners finally sent them away rather than offend White ballplayers.

One day, I'm playing stickball on St. Nicholas Avenue when a guy we called Bill the Cop, just off duty, speaks to my father and tells him the Giant manager, Bill Terry, has complained that he doesn't want "nigger cops" patroling the Polo Grounds before, during or after the games, particularly not at the executive entrances. Even as a child I got the message.

I lived to see Blacks elected to the Baseball Hall of Fame. I lived to see Emmett Ashford, the first Black umpire. I lived to see Aaron break Babe Ruth's home-run record. I lived to see Frank Robinson become the first Black manager in the major leagues. The system is breaking.

I'm glad I've been here to see it, to tell of it, to record it. However, an interesting development: my 10-year-old daughter, Suzanne, wants to know why women can't play in major league baseball.□

Activists Denounce Bill To Keep Puerto Rico A U.S. Colony

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 5

upcoming United Nations' debate on Puerto Rico's colonial status, due to take place this August in the U.N. Decolonization Committee.

"The reason why they want this bill passed before this debate has to do with the fact that, internationally, Puerto Rico has long been recognized as a colony of the U.S. In 1973, the U.N. voted overwhelmingly," Block explained, "by a vote of 104 to 5, that Puerto Rico was in fact a colony of the U.S. . . ."

Block charged Burton with complicity with the Ford administration in attempting to isolate the Puerto Rican issue as "an internal affair of the U.S."

"Democracy is a myth in my country," Margarita Mergal said forcefully, "because all important decisions about our lives are made in Washington.

"Like working people all over the world we are struggling for our freedom and independence," Ms. Mergal said. "The organized struggle of the Puerto Rican people for our liberation has always been strong."

PROGRESSIVE PEOPLE

"The Puerto Rican people welcome the support of all progressive people in the U.S. in opposing colonialism in Puerto Rico, in exposing 'The Compact of Permanent Union' for doing nothing more than exposing the colonial reality from people in the United States, on the island and throughout the world.

"We ask all progressive people," Ms. Mergal reiterated, "especially people in Phillip Burton's district (which ironically, is composed of a majority of Black, Latino and Third World peoples), to denounce the 'Compact' and demand that it be defeated in the U.S. Congress."

In addition, Ms. Mergal, both in her statement and later during a question and answer period, detailed the horrors of colonial repression and brutality directed against the Puerto Rican people. (See Editorial, page 2.)

In his statement, attorney Michael Kennedy attacked the Compact legislation as violating the spirit and letter of the U.S. Declaration of Independence, the U.S. Constitution and international law, particularly the Charter and resolutions of the United Nations.

In a statement distributed to the media at the press conference, Congressman Dellums remarked:

"It is my fervent belief that the people of Puerto Rico have an inherent right to self-determination. The countries and territories of the Third World have long suffered interference by our government in their attempts to build self-government.

"It is the height of arrogance that our government now seeks to force an undesirous arrangement upon another people, as arrogant and self-righteous an activity as attempting to make decisions for and determine the lives of Third World people here at home.

"I firmly support, and urge my constituents to do likewise, the independence of Puerto Rico and denounce Congressional legislation seeking to force the people of Puerto Rico, who have the birthright to sovereignty, into a continued state of colonialism."□



High rise luxury apartments overlook San Juan, Puerto Rico, shanties. Proposed bill on Puerto Rico offers no solution at all to the island's worsening problems.

"Malcolm X"

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 4

she wins a trip to the ghetto, East Oakland. For the finale of the program the whole OCS student body sang very enthusiastically the song "Come Along To A New Creation."

After the program everyone proceeded to the OCLC cafeteria where everyone enjoyed refreshments and bought some of the delicious baked goods prepared by OCLC parents to raise some funds for their school. During this period the lucky May winners of the monthly OCS Donation Drawing were announced.

The winners were:

1st Prize — Mrs. Hauff, Oakland
2nd Prize — N.D. Lusa, Berkeley
3rd Prize — D. Gips, San Francisco
4th Prize — Hayward Scott, Pacifica
5th Prize — Al Smith, Oakland
6th Prize — Ronald Hawthorne — San Rafael
7th Prize — Julio Cole
8th Prize — Rita Smith, Richmond
9th Prize — Jonathan Williams, Oakland
10th Prize — Chris Angel, Emeryville

Willie Tate Expresses "Fear For My Safety"

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 3

shoulder." Asked by Hill what his reaction was to seeing Rubiaco, who was apparently being detained by inmates, Willie dramatically answered:

"In a prison setting, a prisoner is conditioned not to look at anything that's against the laws or the rules. If a person sees you observing something illegal, he may feel you're a threat and kill you."

Throughout his testimony, Willie used an enlarged diagram of the AC to trace his movements on August 21. Eventually, he testified, he moved to the area of cell 55 "where there were a lot of people sitting around," among

It was at this point, Willie related, "that someone said George (Jackson) had been given a gun by a guard. Then someone else said that a guard had pulled a gun on George and that he had moved on the guard and taken the gun."

Willie later testified that he first met author/revolutionary Jackson at Tracey prison in 1962 when Willie was an inmate of the California Youth Authority and that he had participated in a hunger strike there organized by the late Black Panther Party Field Marshal. Later, when Willie was confined to the B-Tier of San Quentin, beginning in 1966, he said that "George would get me the stuff (linen, toilet articles) I needed when I was in the strip cell."

Rumors continued to fly among the inmates, and Willie's fear for his life intensified when he heard a report that some guards were either dead or had been hurt on the back of the southside of the AC. Following what he thought was a shot, Willie saw the first door of the AC open and Officer Bill Hampton enter the tier. Believing that other guards had been hurt and fearing that Hampton's presence would further jeopardize his life, Willie — who by now realized that he had a garbage can in his hand — said he yelled out to Hampton, "Get the hell out of here." Hampton, Willie testified, immediately left.

When Willie heard what he was convinced was a second shot coming from the northside of the AC, he said that he put the garbage can down. "People started trying to figure out what to do in order to survive. People were milling around. No one wanted to *see* what was happening but wanted to know *what* was happening. Someone said George had run out of the AC. When people came from the other side, it accelerated our fright. Everyone was asking, 'What can we do?'" Willie explained.

Upon returning to cell 65, Willie wrote a letter to his mother "because I thought I would be killed." The unfinished letter began, "The pigs are telling us to come out, but they are shooting us as we come out."

Willie then began the most moving part of his testimony, vividly describing the brutal beating and torture he received from the guards. As he walked naked down the tier, he testified, he was knocked to the ground and several officers began beating him. He ran outside, he continued, where he was shackled and handcuffed and had a red "X" placed on his feet.

AUDIBLE SOBS

Audible sobs were heard throughout the courtroom when Willie described his treatment after being taken to the second floor of the AC. "(Officer) Smith tried to practice his karate kicks on me," Willie said as he began to cry. "(Officer Johnny) Arms said all kind of racist slurs to me. I was kneeling down. They made me feel like a dog. Whenever I think of that (incident), I feel very humiliated."

Under cross-examination by Marin County Assistant District Attorney Jerry Herman, Willie repeatedly denied being part of any conspiracy or feeling any hostility toward any of the guards. "I wanted to stay alive and I feared whoever and whatever," he declared.□

Florida Slavery Exposed

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 7
camp in Lakeland, several of the workers made statements about the conditions they had faced.

Clayton Norris stated, "I've been mistreated ever since I've been with (Ivory) Wilson. . .I worked nine days for him in North Carolina and he didn't pay me all the money I earned. He told me to come with him to Florida where he would pay me off. He lured me, that's what he did. I ain't never seen a penny from him, only balance slips."

Mrs. Lola Carmichael described some of the living conditions. "We eat out of a kitchen at the camp and Ivory charges us $30 a week for the food whether we eat it or not. . .And some of us couldn't eat the slop they were cooking. One day he promised us a big fish dinner. You know what we got? Fish heads, filthy fish heads, and he charged us for that meal, too."

When state officials entered the camp, typical of the "housing" they found was a 12 by 60 foot dilapidated mobile trailer with nine dirty beds and a couch for sleeping. In addition to paying $14 a week for rent, the workers were charged for water, gas and light.

TERROR

Wilson used terror to keep pickers working for him and he refused to let them leave his camp or crews.

Will Carmichael revealed the extent of Wilson's barbarism. "I got my finger cut off in a goat (automatic fruit loader) right here in Florida," said Carmichael. "Ivory Wilson took me to the doctor and got my money. I got $5,000 in workman's compensation for my finger and all I got out of it was five one-dollar bills. He made me sign an 'X' on the check and he took the money." While talking to investigators Carmichael held up the stump of an index finger and said, "I bought Wilson's Mark IV with my finger."

The use of terror and slavery are the heart of the labor contractor system that is the basis of Florida's agribusiness. For the most part, federal and state officials take no notice of slave-like conditions at the labor camps. Big growers profess their ignorance of the situation. And with few exceptions, the state authorities act in complicity with the growers and contractors, ready to prosecute workers under "vagrancy" statutes or deport "illegal" workers. □

Letters to the Editor

PROTEST CBS NEWS RACISM

(The following letter was recently received by THE BLACK PANTHER.)
Mr. Arthur R. Taylor, President, Columbia Broadcasting System
Mr. D. Thomas Miller, President, CBS-TV
Mr. Richard S. Salant, President, CBS-TV News Division
Mr. W. Russell Barry, Manager, KNXT-TV, Los Angeles

Gentlemen:

I am writing you to express my extreme displeasure over an editorial by Eric Sevareid which appeared on the program, "CBS News with Walter Cronkite." Monday, April 19, at 7 p.m. on KNXT-TV, Los Angeles.

In recent years, the Columbia Broadcasting System has presented some enlightening programs dealing with issues which affect Black Americans. Efforts have been made to increase the number of Black personnel. But these constructive moves have been offset by certain other actions which CBS has taken. Here in Los Angeles, so many complaints of employment discrimination have been made against your company that a group, the Coalition for Justice in the Media, has been formed, and demonstrations have been held in front of CBS studios. In the words of a recent press release of the Coalition:

"Our primary concern is that the employment of Black Americans by KNXT from decision makers to the lowest paid employee, does not begin to approximate the station's Black viewers in the Los Angeles area.

"We are also deeply concerned about the news coverage the Black community receives from KNXT. Unless it is spectacular or criminal, nothing South of Wilshire is news, according to KNXT."

The above charges would be serious enough were they not part of what seems to be a national pattern with the CBS-TV network.

An example of this is the kind of race-baiting which Eric Sevareid engaged in on April 19. After describing the spring vacation antics of White college youth in Fort Lauderdale, Florida, he began to launch into an attack on the gang violence of Black youth in Washington, D.C. The innocence of the Whites was contrasted with the viciousness of the Blacks. Of course, no direct reference to race was ever made, but all the clever code terms for "Nigger" were there: "street crime," "lawless gangs," "defiance of law and order."

Sevareid went to great lengths to describe the danger which muggers in Washington present to Bicentennial tourists. What about the dangers they pose to local residents? Are they to be ignored because most of them are Black? It is a known fact that most of the victims of Black violence are other Blacks. I grew up in the inner city of Washington, D.C., and although I was lucky enough to have been born into a middle-class family, I constantly witnessed the poverty and desperation which drove some of our people to crime. Even though we were afraid of crime, my parents always directed my hostility, not toward the few people in the neighborhood who were the immediate cause of the problems, but toward the White power structure which rules Washington, and which is responsible for the job discrimination, inadequate housing, mass media violence, poor schools and all the rest of the institutionalized racism which combines to produce Black urban ghettos.

To complain about street crime in Washington without dealing with these issues is to suggest that it is the young street-runners who are to blame. This is part of the neo-racist White backlash tactic of blaming the victim. This was not Sevareid's first race-baiting editorial, nor, I imagine, will it be his last. But when gangs of young White toughs turn out to stone a bus carrying Black children, or when White vigilantes burn a cross on the lawn of a Black family moving into a "White" neighborhood, we will know whom to blame, much the perpetrators of the violence, but rather those who have incited them — people like Eric Sevareid, and the officials of CBS.

Sincerely,
Alonzo N. Smith
Ph.D. Candidate, History
University of California at Los Angeles;
Chariman, Information Committee, California Black College
Faculty and Staff Association

"ENLISTING MY BIGGEST MISTAKE"

Dear Friends,

Two years ago I made what I now realize was the biggest mistake in my life — enlisting in the Army. I have been AWOL for about half of the time since then. Now, just after celebrating my 21st birthday, I am in confinement at Fort Ord, California, awaiting court-martial for having been AWOL and also for being gay. Fortunately, I have an experienced civilian counselor so I think that my legal situation is about as good as possible under the circumstances. However, there is a favor that I want to ask of you.

Right now, I'm stuck here for at least the next few months and I am also out of touch with my old friends from before I enlisted. I am isolated in a very depressing and unfriendly environment. Would it be possible for you to publish a brief notice on my behalf in THE BLACK PANTHER so that someone might write to me? I would sure enjoy hearing from a few Black brothers!

Since mail sent directly to me at Fort Ord is subject to military inspection and general tampering, I am using the address of my counselor who is able to get mail to me promptly and intact, even if I'm transferred. Thanking you in advance for your comradeship, I am —

Your Brother,
Roberto Marcos
605 Brunswick St.
San Francisco, Calif. 94112

McAlester Letter

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"First they create the conditions to inflict the ills, then they carry out a mass campaign to kill the illed. Calling us psychopaths and expecting us to be still, not make a sound while they starved and starve us, gas us, beat us and even gun us down.

"Maybe a lot of people will say, 'You shouldn't get involved. You should mind your own business and do your own time.' You know that is the very reason that brothers and sisters are being jumped on, beat, imprisoned, starved or gunned down all over this place. Too many people are minding their own business and letting this legal monster murder their own. If it wasn't for so many of these convicts 'doing their own time,' Ray Herrod would still be alive.

"My nerves are racked right now. This has really upset me and my brothers. We are all quite shaken, but not with fear. We are shaken with anger, not with grief. We are shaken with rage and determination. What will our fate be? We could all easily be killed in the next moment.

"Ray Herrod lay unattended for about one hour before prison paramedics and unskilled inmate nurses attempted to come out and give him medical care. He had been dead that long. He was shot about 1:30 in the afternoon. On Monday, April 19, 1976, Brother Levi Williams was attacked, beat and shot with a bean-bag gun for requesting to be properly fed.

"All the beatings, gassings, attacks and abuses in the past are a clear pattern which leads up to what happened today. They are lying in their teeth. The coroner's report will be a lie too. They are attempting to cover up a cold blooded murder. Rick Boulden took deliberate aim and calculations and shot and killed comrade Ray Herrod in cold blood. He should be facing a first degree murder charge right now." □

". . . Through the constant liberation of creative initiative, we will give birth to this new person who will abolish the contradiction between mind and body. The two cannot be divided."



"Establishment Of Love Between People"

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 17

quests to the entire country, especially to the cities.

Q: What type of economic development has Mozambique chosen for itself?

MACHEL: We have chosen agriculture as a basis for economic development because it requires little investment, because we have experience in the field that we acquired in the liberated zones, and because in this way we can quickly obtain results which solve the immediate problems of the masses: the need for food and clothing. But we consider industry to be the moving force. The increase in agricultural production depends on it. Heavy industry alone, through the use of our immense natural resources, can create the foundation for our prosperity and guarantee our national independence.

Q: Do you therefore wish to break with Western economic circuits?

MACHEL: It involves a process. But our essential task is nondependency. We would like to establish cooperation with the socialist countries as well as with those of the West. We want to break with the dependency resulting from aid.

Q: What power structure model do you want to establish in order to attain those political and economic objectives?

MACHEL: Imagine asking a peasant or a rank and file combatant if they are fighting colonialism or capitalism? In ten years of armed struggle, he or she has not differentiated between them. In rejecting colonialism our people have rejected capitalism. We have defined "new democracy" as the present stage of building the power of the peasant-worker alliance. This necessitates a society where the essential means of production are collectivized and the working classes dominate the state, the economy, science and culture.

Q: Does FRELIMO require complete control in this stage?

MACHEL: There is no class which will commit suicide as a class; it is necessary to fight and destroy it. This fight demands the constant, firm struggle of FRELIMO, a purification to bring about a break. There is divergence, incompatibility and no co-existence between the exploiting class and the workers. This class struggle requires the creation of a new person, and this person is born of the struggle. It is a struggle of ideas, constant struggle to do away with the old so that the new may survive. Through the constant liberation of creative initiative, we will give birth to this new person who will abolish the contradiction between mind and body. The two cannot be divided.

TO BE CONTINUED

Z.A.N.U. Leads Armed Struggle

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 18

tic, independent and socialist Zimbabwe people will be encouraged and assisted in building a new Zimbabwe culture derived from the best in what our heritage and history have given, and develop it to meet the needs of the new socialist society and the twentieth century. Mental decolonization is as necessary a part of our struggle as the complete political and economic independence which we are fighting for.

Q: What is ZANU's policy on labor and welfare?

A: ZANU's policy on labor and welfare is that workers will own directly and indirectly the factories for which they work. All discriminatory labor and trade union legislation will be repealed and all other exploitative practices terminated. Persons who cannot work because of old age or physical handicaps will be the charge of the state. A social-security system will be introduced to care for and assist all workers and laborers, and especially mothers during times of illness and childbirth.

NATIONAL UNITY

Q: What is ZANU's policy on national unity?

A: ZANU's policy on national unity is based on a common struggle against a common enemy to build a free democratic independent socialist Zimbabwe and to fight exploiters and imperialists of whatever color or race and their agents. Existing racial and ethnic divisions are the work of imperialists who are enslaving us. They must be removed and measures taken to ensure freedom and full security of all Zimbabweans. Tribal organizations and political parties based on tribalism will be banned.

PRESSING TASK

Q: What is the most pressing task facing ZANU?

A: The most pressing task facing ZANU at present is the intensification of THE ARMED STRUGGLE.

Q: What is ZANU's position on southern African detente?

A: Detente was initiated by Pretoria in October, 1974, as a means of completely destroying the armed struggle for the total liberation of Zimbabwe. Detente as an idea has shown itself to be a trick by Vorster and the imperialist powers to completely destroy the armed struggle in Zimbabwe and southern Africa as a whole.

We in ZANU would like to make it clear that there is no power on earth that will stop us from winning our country back by armed struggle.□

Ethiopian "Massacre" In Eritrea Condemned

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 19

would be to deal with bandits and collaborators.

"Thus, where a trained army has failed, the Ethiopian military junta is sacrificing the lives of ill-informed and ill-trained Ethiopian peasants, together with many innocent Eritrean women, elders and children. . . ."

The EFLNA statement went on to explain that the U.S. is footing the bill for Ethiopia's war of aggression against Eritrea — $250,000 a day, "all borne out by the United States," according to the London *Guardian*.

"The U.S. not only has secretly been supplying this fascist regime (Ethiopia) with napalm bombs, anti-personnel bombs, chemical poison to be applied to drinking water and the sophisticated F-5A planes to sow these seeds of destruction over the heads of innocent Eritrean civilians, it has also recently concluded, without the knowledge of the American public, a $300 million agreement to totally re-equip this murderous dictatorial military regime of Ethiopia," the EFLNA statement continued.

Eritrea is rich in oil, potash and other mineral resources. Following World War II, the U.S. government schemed to gain control of these resources and devised a plan whereby Eritrea, previously an independent country, colonized by Great Britain after World War II, would be annexed by Ethiopia under a federal plan which the U.S. succeeded in getting the United Nations to approve in 1952.

Barely eight months after the federation was established, the U.S. built Kagnew military base in Eritrea, a $70 million base which is the largest high frequency station for America outside of domestic facilities. It is used to spy on African liberation movements and against the Palestinian people. The construction of Kagnew laid the basis for the signing of a sweeping Mutual Defense Pact between the U.S. and Ethiopia.

The Bay Area EFLNA also announced that the Foreign Mission (exiled Eritreans) of the EPLF resigned on March 23 of this year following a meeting with the EPLF (battlefield forces) in Khartoum, Sudan. The EPLF charges that the Foreign Mission sought "an absolute guardianship of the Eritrean revolution and exercised political extortion against the Eritrean people."□



BPINS photo

Left to right GHIDE GEPHREM, ARAIA TSEGGA and DANIEL MESFUN, representatives of Eritreans for Liberation in North America, Bay Area Chapter.

"IN MEMORY OF MALCOLM X"

A PROGRAM PRESENTED by the

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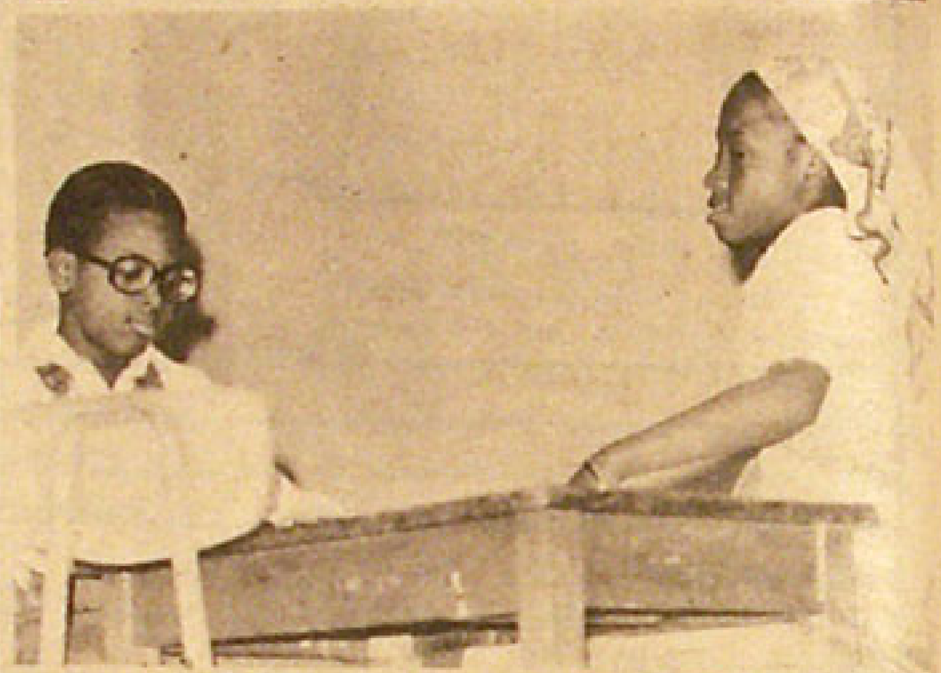
SUNDAY, MAY 23, 1976



























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